AMERICAN PAUPERISM
AND
THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY
BY
ISADOR LADOFF



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AMERICAN PAUPERISM

AND

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY

BY

ISADOR LADOFF
AUTHOR OF "THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM," ETC.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT

"JESUS OR MAMMON"

BY

J. FELIX

CHICAGO
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
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AMERICAN PAUPERISM

AN APPEAL TO THE READER.

You know that we live in an age of great prosperity; that the United States exceeds Great Britain in the totals of her domestic export; that the foreign business of the United States passes beyond two billion dollars; that her profits—that is, the excess of exports over imports—reaches more than four hundred and seventy-six million dollars.

You know, in other words, that the United States is able to provide sufficient food, clothing and shelter, foreign and domestic goods for comfortable and even luxurious living for her people, and sells abroad goods at the rate of a million and a half dollars in cash for every working day.

You know that the United States has ceased to be a nation-debtor and has become a creditor-nation; that the bank clearings have increased immensely, while the number of receiverships steadily decline; that there never was such an expansion in the various manufacturing industries; that never before has so much money been in circulation in the country, either in volume or in per capita distribution; that never before were

the totals of the people's savings in the banks so enormous.

You know that the United States grows about eighty per cent of the entire cotton crop of the world; that it is the greatest producer of wheat among all countries; that we own about one-third of all the swine in the world; that we are the greatest cattle raisers among the nations.

You know that of the food-staples, bread, meat, butter, milk, vegetables and fruits, we are the most extensive producers.

You know that as a clothing producer America is abundantly able to clothe her population without any assistance from foreign nations; that the United States' output of iron and steel products was in 1899 about forty per cent of the world's total; that we are the greatest coal producers, furnishing more than one-third of the world's supply; that the annual supply of our petroleum makes up one-half of the total output of the world.

You know that the United States has the greatest mileage of railroads, the greatest amount of freight-transportation, the most extensive marine-traffic.

You know, in short, that the economic growth and material development of the United States, the growth of wealth of the entire nation, has no precedent in the history of humanity. However, do you know who actually enjoys this marvelous material prosperity? Do you know what price is paid for this prosperity and who foots up the bill?

Do you know that a little less than one-half of the families of the United States are property-less; that seven-eighths of the families hold no

more than one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine per cent?

Do you know that the wealthiest ten per cent of American families receive approximately the same income as the remaining ninety per cent?

Do you know that the average family's income from labor cannot be put higher than five hundred dollars in towns and three hundred dollars in the rural districts? As three-fifths live in rural districts, the average should be three hundred eighty dollars annually for all.

Do you know that more than five-sixths of the income of the wealthiest class is received by a hundred twenty-five thousand richest families, while less than one-half of the income of the working classes is received by the poorest 6,500,000; in other words, that one per cent of our families receive nearly one-fifth?

Do you know that in fact the smallest class of wealthy property owners receive from property alone as large an income as half of our people receive from property and labor?

Do you know that the number of officially recognised paupers in the United States is not less than three millions; that the direct and indirect loss in money due to pauperism is conservatively estimated to reach at least one hundred million dollars annually?

Do you know that the State of New York, the richest state in the Union, carries the heaviest burden of pauperism, not merely proportional to its population?

Do you know that the number of inmates in various charitable institutions of the State of New York reaches 300,000; while the total num-

ber of persons relieved annually by these institutions reaches the figure of two and a half millions?

Do you know that one in four of the entire tenement population of the city of New York (about 300,000 or 350,000) are treated free of charge annually by medical charitable institutions?

Do you know that in no city of the United States will the number of children supported at public expense compare in proportion to population with the number of those cared for in New York City?

Do you know that one person in every ten who dies in the City of New York is buried in Potter's Field?

Do you know that the increase of female and child-labor in the United States is quite pronounced in comparison with the increase of adult male labor?

Do you know that child labor increased in a single decade more than two hundred per cent in the South?

Do you know that nearly one-sixth of all the employees in the hard coal mines are children?

Do you know that the increase of child-labor in the iron and steel industry shows 216 per cent?

Do you know that there are about seventeen hundred and fifty thousand children between the ages of ten and fifteen years employed in the mines and factories of the United States?

Do you know that child-labor is employed to a very much greater extent in the North than in the South?

Do you know that children are deformed,

maimed, weakened and made diseased for life in many of the trades flourishing in every industrial community? Do you hear the cry of the children:

"How long," they say, "how long, oh cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart—
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, oh our tyrants,
And your purple shows your path;"
But the child's sob curseth deeper in its silence
Than the strong man in his wrath.

Are you aware that child-labor is one of the bitterest and greatest tragedies of our commercial age?

Do you know all that? If yes, what are you going to do about it? If not—is it not your sacred duty to investigate matters and to decide what to do about it?

Are you not responsible for the prevailing conditions as far as you fail to improve them to the extent of your abilities and as far as you help to perpetuate them?

The present book is an attempt at a sane, fair and impartial treatment of the most important social economic problems of our age from the highest ethical point of view, from the point of view of the true interests of the entire human race. We do not attack personalities or classes, who apparently at least are benefited by the prevailing abnormal conditions of social-economic life and strife. However, we analyse and condemn social-economic institutions that according to our sincere conviction have outlived their utility.

The fundamental thought of our book may be summarised in the following single sentence: *"There is no crime but parasitism."*

To eliminate social-economic parasitism means to abolish the very root of all social economic evils. The poet says:

"Truth is eternal, but her effluence,
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past.
He who would win the name of truly great
Must understand his own age and the next,
And make the present ready to fulfil
Its prophecy, and with the future merge
Gently and peacefully as wave with wave.
The future works out great men's purposes:
The present is enough for common souls,
Who, never looking forward, are indeed
Mere clay, wherein the footprints of their age
Are petrified forever: better those
Who lead the blind old giant by the hand
From out the pathless desert where he gropes,
And set him onward in his darksome way.
I do not fear to follow out the truth
Albeit along the precipice's edge.
Let us speak plain: there is more force in names
Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk
Behind the shield of some fair seeming name.
* * * * * * * * * *
For men in earnest have no time to waste
In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth."

PAUPERISM AND POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

We have to distinguish between charity and mutual helpfulness. Under charity we understand the material assistance extended by the parasitic "higher" classes to the slum-proletarians. Charity is an artificial and vicious code, by which one class of people regulates a part of its conduct toward other classes, considered as something lower than men, because the last happen to be poor. St. Crispinus used to steal leather from the rich in order to make shoes for the poor. The parasitic classes of our commercial civilisation appropriate the lion's share of the results of the labor of the toiling masses and then sanctimoniously contribute an infinitesimal part of their ill-gotten wealth to the lowest dregs of the exploited class. The ethics of such generosity is on a par with that of a highway robber who, after having relieved his victim of his well-filled purse, returns a nickel for car-fare out of the spoil to the robbed persons. The idle rich indulge in giving alms because it tickles their vanity, because it hypnotises their guilty consciences and enhances the consciousness of their economic power. Charity is indeed a very convenient institution for the ruling plutocratic minority. It helps to keep the so-called lower classes in a state of slavish humility and canine dependence on the bitter crumbs falling occasionally from the overladen tables of the "valiant possessor of the valuable."

Besides this, methodical organised charity by

proxy saves the rich from disagreeable personal contact with the unsavory poor. Organised private charity allows the rich to treat professional beggars like criminals without appearing brutal. Organised private charity makes it possible to classify the *poor* people into two categories—one labeled *worthy,* and the other *unworthy* of *support.* Charity this way helps to keep the irregular reserve army of unemployed just on the brink of semi-starvation and in constant readiness to accept a proposed "job" on any terms, to act as strike-breakers in case of necessity, and, mainly, to press down the scale of wages for labor to the lowest possible level. These poor, namely, who, on one hand, still possess some class consciousness, or who are, on the other hand, too deeply demoralised to be relied upon by the employers of labor in times of industrial disturbances, are labeled as unworthy of support.

Quite a different moral aspect is presented by the unostentatious mutual helpfulness among the poor. Here the gift of a penny means actually that the giver has to deny himself something of the necessaries of life.

Unfortunately, there is no way of ascertaining either the number benefited by or the amount expended in mutual helpfulness of that kind.

The New York Times (Nov. 19, 1902) estimates that in the State of New York alone there is spent annually on private charity not less than $20,000,000 by more than ten thousand organised private institutions.

Public charity, so called, ought to be, by right, considered as belonging to the category of mutual helpfulness. Indeed all charitable state, city, and county institutions are maintained at the ex-

pense of the taxpayers; and the wealth out of which taxes are, in the last instance, paid is produced by the toiling masses, and not by the parasitic classes, all outward appearances to the contrary. And yet the stigma of "charity" remains attached to these institutions. In the public opinion every person applying for and getting aid from public charitable institutions is stamped a pauper. Only exceptional distress compels the respectable poor to apply for public charity. If we use data about public charity as an indication of poverty we shall not run the risk of exaggerating the actual existing poverty, but rather of underestimating it.

It must be stated however at the outset that even the data about public charity in the United States are rather fragmentary and incomplete.

The following table will show the number of applicants for charity in 1891:

Cities.	Population.	Applicants.	Per cent of population.
New York City	1,515,301	2,836	0.18
Boston	448,417	2,391	0.53
Baltimore	434,439	2,250	0.51
New Haven	81,298	551	0.67

In other words, *of each ten thousand inhabitants there were recognized paupers, eighteen in New York City, fifty-three in Boston, fifty-one in Baltimore and sixty-seven in New Haven.*

The eleventh United States Census puts the number of paupers in alms-houses alone at 73,045. This figure represents obviously only a small fraction of the actual number of paupers. Professor Ely and Mr. Chas. Kellog, secretary of the New York charity organization, both esti-

mate *the number of paupers in the United States at not less than three millions.* (North American Review, April, 1891.) Professor Ely and Amos G. Warner both estimate that *hundred millions of dollars annually is a conservative figure of the total direct and indirect pecuniary loss to the country on account of pauperism.* Professor Ely puts the direct expenditure of the United States on this account at twenty-five million dollars. From this sum the State of New York alone spends for charitable purposes thirteen million dollars per annum.

In connection with these figures the following data of the eleventh census will be of interest.

The true valuation of the total wealth of the United States was estimated at sixty-five milliards, thirty-seven millions, ninety-one thousand and hundred ninety-seven dollars. The true valuation of the total wealth of the State of New York was estimated at eight milliards, five hundred seventy-six millions, seven hundred one thousand and nine hundred ninety-one dollars. The wealth of the State of New York represents therefore about one-eighth of the total national wealth. The State of New York is therefore by far the richest State of the Union, having a true per capita valuation of one thousand four hundred thirty dollars while the true per capita valuation of the United States reaches only one thousand and thirty-six dollars. The State of New York, representing more than one-eighth of the entire wealth of the nation, carries about one-eighth of the burden of pauperism of the United States, a burden that is not nearly proportionate to its share in the population of the Union.

As we shall devote considerable attention later

on to the distribution of wealth in the United States, we will leave the just related data of the census without further comment. We will, however, point out here that these data add a special significance to the data about pauperism and poverty in the State of New York. *In 1880 there were 66,203 inmates in almshouses in the United States,* or one inmate, *one recognized pauper to each 758 inhabitants.* In 1890 there were (as we related above) 73,045 almshouse inmates or one pauper to every 857 inhabitants (Eleventh Census, bulletin 90, p. 3). The average age of almshouse paupers in 1880 was 45.1 years, while it was 51.03 years in 1890. This change was due to the removal of children paupers to special institutions.

The New York State Board of Charities in its tenth annual report (table on pp. 99-107) furnishes data respecting 12,614 inmates of almshouses. Of the total, 422 were born in the almshouses and of others 1650 were admitted when less than ten years old. At the time of the examination nearly 13 per cent were under ten years of age and nearly the same proportion was over seventy. The average time of previous dependence for all inmates amounted to 4.88 years. This gave a total of 61,595 years of almshouse care for the benefit of the persons examined. In all the poor-houses there were found a great number of inmates whose ancestors were paupers and who also had other relatives who were paupers.

The State of New York consequently cared for about one-sixth of the total number of all officially recognized paupers in the Union, or one pauper to each 82.1 in 1890—that means about

ten times the average for the United States in general. The wealthiest State thus appears to have the greatest number of paupers in proportion to its inhabitants. The following is the number of State paupers admitted into the almshouses of New York each year since October, 1873:

		Male.	Female.	Total.
September,	1874	513	50	563
	1875	566	88	654
	1876	514	119	633
	1877	707	165	872
	1878	930	190	1,120
	1879	1,326	261	1,587
	1880	1,023	320	1,343
	1881	1,046	327	1,373
	1882	1,024	368	1,392
	1883	1,033	393	1,426
	1884	1,378	514	1,892
	1885	1,409	439	1,848
	1886	1,252	354	1,606
	1887	1,247	370	1,617
	1888	1,317	348	1,665
	1889	1,369	388	1,757
	1890	1,133	307	1,440
	1891	1,026	339	1,365
	1892	1,095	272	1,367
	1893	1,057	349	1,406
	1894	1,490	484	1,974
	1895	1,669	502	2,171
	1896	1,589	513	2,102
	1897	1,448	539	1,987
	1898	1,300	504	1,804
	1899	1,582	467	2,049
		30,043	8,970	39,013

(XXXIII Report of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York—VI, p. 972.)

Mr. Byron M. Child in his paper, presented to the New York conference of charities and cor-

rections held November 20-22, 1900, at Albany, gives the following brief review of the growth of organized charity in the State of New York. (XXXIV Report, pp. 85-95.)

Thirty years ago the State Board of Charities reported that the counties of the State had expended in 1870 "for support and relief" $1,330,776.64 and the cities $1,265,050.41, besides which the state, cities and counties had appropriated $157,780.51 toward maintenance of twenty-nine hospitals, the total expenditures of which were $560,801.77. These hospitals treated 15,713 beneficiary or charity patients. In addition the orphan asylums of the State were maintained at an expense of $2,531,915.88 of which $591,570.88 came from public funds; 10,134 persons were in these asylums at the close of the year. The State supplemented its appropriations in this direction with a further gift of $50,000 for educational purposes. This is the substance of the statistics of that year.

The institutions for the care of destitute adults are now of three classes: those maintained and controlled wholly by the public; those partly maintained by the public, but controlled by private corporations; and those wholly maintained by private funds and under private control. In 1895 there were 13,658 inmates in the almshouses, exclusive of classified cases, besides 8,131 aged and friendless persons elsewhere provided for; 1,100 disabled soldiers and sailors and 6,655 hospital patients of the destitute class. To these should be added the 380 adult females in reformatories.

In that year the inspector of charities reported the total expenditures as over nineteen millions

of dollars for all purposes—of which the State, counties and municipalities contributed nearly five million dollars—but these figures did not include the hospitals for insane. There were sixty-four homes for the aged and friendless, and they received $135,982.15 from the public treasury, their total expenditures being $1,292,663.60.

During the same period $3,128,842.78 were spent for the support and care of the inmates of almshouses. In these institutions there were cared for in 1898, 7,119 persons, of whom 370 were supported by public funds, and over 6,336 by private funds. As many of the institutions failed to make reports, these figures are not complete. Reports show, however, that at least 755 men and 684 women, in addition to those cared for the preceding year, were received into the institutions.

During the same period 1,262 were discharged from the rolls for various causes. At the close of that year 2,648 men and 3,211 women, a total of 5,857 inmates, remained in the institutions, and the expenditures were $1,832,625.82, so far as reported.

For the following year, ending September 30, 1890, there were in the homes for aged persons, and in the reformatories, 7,015. During the same period 82,974 persons had received relief in the almshouses of the State, and 6,853 had been in other State institutions. The total expenditures for all classes of adults in institutions represented about the same sum expended the preceding year, forming a large portion of the grand total of $29,447,177.32 expended in the State for charities. Of this grand total $8,042,720.53 were

from public funds and $21,434,456.79 were disbursed from private treasuries.

The statistics of 1899 show that our institutions caring for adults and subject to State supervision had in their charge a very large number of persons, and that altogether were supported by the people of the State a vast army of dependents of all kinds, over 300,000 strong.

The year began with 32,249 adults under care, but to these have to be added the classified inmates of the State institutions.

In view of the general facts just related about public charity in the State and City of New York, it will be instructive to examine in detail some official reports of the New York State Board of Charities for recent years.

The report of the Board of Charities of the State of New York for the year 1897, for instance, contains the following data of general interest:

The real and personal property of all institutions, societies and associations reporting to the Board was estimated to be worth $103,384,554.21, of this sum $77,455,064.20 were in real estate and $29,929,490.01 in personal property, divided among the various classes of charities as follows:

State institutions	$ 5,450,953.68
County alms-houses	2,993,930.00
City and town alms-houses	6,842,000.00
Charity organization societies	346,082.01
Day nurseries	271,416.46
Dispensaries	1,613,983.17
Eleemosynary educational institutions	850,569.07
Employment societies	171,217.76
Fresh air charities	479,035.96
General out-door relief societies	2,274,544.49

Homes for the aged	17,845,107.17
Homes for the blind	244,400.00
Homes for children	25,581,750.33
Homes for discharged prisoners	161,997.78
Homes, temporary, for men and boys	124,340.01
Homes, temporary, for women and children	223,214.45
Homes, temporary, for women and girls.	177,230.00
Homes and hospitals for consumptives	583,000.00
Homes and hospitals for convalescents	527,000.00
Homes and hospitals for epileptics	120,000.00
Homes and hospitals for incurables	1,611,855.60
Homes and hospitals for inebriates	488,307.70
Homes and missions for emigrants	2,441,600.00
Hospitals	29,068,051.55
Humane societies	6,600.00
Legal aid societies	19,715.00
Reformatories for children	165,578.13
Reformatories for women and girls	1,618,172.24
Relief for sick poor, societies for	335,508.00
School for deaf	1,224,691.65
Total	$103,384,554.21

Commenting upon this report the New York Morning Sun's (August 7, 1898) remarks run as follows:

"It is to be remembered that the Board's figures do not include the large amount expended by the thousand of minor charitable organizations, such as the King's Daughters, Ladies' Aid Societies, Helping Hand and sewing circles, nor the vast and incalculable assistance rendered through purely personal benefactions. Large as these figures of the report of the Board appear, there are various good reasons for believing that they are rather under than over-estimated of the value of property devoted to charitable uses in this State. The chief of these reasons is that charitable societies do not care to appear too

wealthy, especially when they derive support from donations of the charitable.

The receipts of the institutions for the year aggregate $23,100,880.50, received from the following sources:

The State	$ 1,527,231.06
Counties	2,450,628.04
Cities	5,628,277.24
Individuals for the support of inmates	1,292,852.65
Legacies	860,437.27
Membership fees	424,189.20
Entertainments and benefits	394,744.23
Donations and voluntary contributions	2,632,440.14
Interest and dividends	1,118,232.46
Investments (Loans, bonds, stocks, etc.)	1,184,133.26
Money borrowed	1,422,047.80
All other sources	2,356,526.23
Total	$23,100,880.50

It will thus be seen that the aggregate amount of public funds granted for the relief of the poor through these institutions was much less than the aggregate amount received from private sources, the figures being respectively $9,606,136.34 from the State, counties and cities, as compared with $13,494,744.16 received through the medium of private benefactions. The total expenditures for the year amounted to $21,448,362.03, classified as follows:

Indebtedness upon real estate (principal and interest)	$ 721,325.29
Other indebtedness	773,123.66
Rent	151,209.12
Salaries and wages	4,147,880.61
Provisions and supplies	4,331,342.72
Printing and stationery	128,214.06
Clothing	616,421.00
Fuel and light	850,339.65
Medicine and medical supplies	495,903.16

Furniture, beds and bedding	328,404.11
Ordinary repairs	534,881.31
Insurance	102,909.40
Buildings and improvements	3,263,315.00
Interest on loans	84,855.27
Investment	1,642,863.00
Services of collections and soliciting funds	27,532.38
General out-door relief to the poor with homes	226,860.68
Meals and lodging for the homeless	28,227.68
Fresh air relief	20,185.29
All other purposes	2,972,468.20
Total	$21,448,362.03"

Quite remarkable is the amount of money spent on salaries and wages, an amount almost equal to the expenditure on provisions and supplies. The four millions of dollars spent on salaries and wages show that the officials of charitable institutions absorb for their services about one-fifth of all the entire sum of expenditure on charities; in other words, that it costs 19 cents in salaries and wages to spend each dollar of money.

The number of inmates in the institutions subject to the supervision of the Board was, in October, 1897, 74,664.

The New York Sun adds to these figures the following comments: "Large as these figures are, they do not of course begin to approach the statistics showing the total number of inmates supported some part of the year, for there is a continual movement of population in most of the institutions, especially in the hospitals, and the beneficiaries of the year number of course many more than those to be found in the census of any given date. The tables of the State Board show that the number of inmates received and cared for in the above mentioned classes of institutions during the past fiscal year aggregates 269,147.

"But these were by no means all that received charitable assistance, the tables showing that in the dispensaries of the State, most of them being in New York City, 1,523,699 persons were treated practically free of charge, the number of prescriptions dispensed being 2,257,075. Further than this, general out-door relief was given by superintendents and overseers of the poor relief societies, missions, and other charities to 758,609 persons, making *the number relieved by institutions (including hospitals and dispensaries), societies, associations and public officials aggregate 2,551,455.*

"It is not to be supposed by any means that these figures correctly represent the actual number of individuals assisted during the year, for there must have been an unavoidable amount of duplication in the figures given, which cannot even be estimated. Notwithstanding this, *it must be clearly apparent that uncommonly large numbers of people of this State are more or less dependent upon charitable relief,* and those well informed upon the subject are inclined to the belief that the unregistered and unreported charity which is bestowed by private benevolence will more than compensate for any duplications that may exist in the official figures."

Such is the opinion of a great capitalistic paper of New York City. The report for 1897, just examined, is typical of all the rest of the reports of the Board of Charities for the following years, as we will see from the following data. The Sun then proceeds:

"The receipts of the State institutions and several institutions under State control and private management for the year 1899 reached a total of

$1,747,799.54. The expenditures of these institutions for the same year were total $730,461.37. The number of tramps assisted was 19,073. The number of persons temporarily assisted was 118,560. In almshouses were 16,160. *The total number of supported and relieved was 134,720.*

"The number of dependents under institutional care in the State of New York, including the insane, on October 1, 1890, was 86,893. The number of beneficiaries in charitable institutions, receiving public moneys in the State of New York and subject to visitation by the Board of Charities and Corrections, were in 1901, total, 61,997, among them 27,262 (or about 44 per cent) being children."

The receipts of fourteen of the State charitable institutions for the fiscal year ending September, 1901, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year ($91,506.71) amounted to $1,401,520.37. Their expenditures aggregated to $1,335,211.95, $919,894.73 being for maintenance, $384,370.96 for improvements. (Rept., p. 29.) The total number of beneficiaries was 7,756, or about $118.07 per each inmate for maintenance alone.

The schools and institutions under private management, but mainly supported by the State appropriations, had the following receipts for the fiscal year ending September, 1901:

Cash on hand	$ 43,907.52
From public sources	685,623.92
From private sources	210,784.78
Total receipts were	940,316.22
Their expenditures aggregated	883,483.32

The appropriations for maintenance and for extraordinary expenses by the legislature of 1901

to the various State institutions subject to the Board of Visitation and Inspection summed up to $1,175,900.59 for maintenance and $598,-851.87 for extraordinary expenses.

The rate of payment to charitable institutions by the City of New York, unless otherwise specially provided, are fixed for various classes of inmates as follows:

Infants under two years, and in hospitals between ages of two and five, 38 cents per day.

Dependent children, two to sixteen years, $2 per week.

Delinquent children $110 per annum.

Adult inmates of reformatories, committed by court, $110 per annum.

Inmates of homes for fallen and friendless women, $110 per annum.

Maternity cases, $18 per case.

Homeless mothers and nursing infants, $12 per month.

To hospitals for medical treatment, 80 cents per day.

Total for charitable institutions, $2,776,714.12. (New York City Budget.) The expenditures of the State institutions for the fiscal year ended September, 1901, were itemized as follows:

Total average expenditures for maintenance for fourteen institutions	$1,080,967.34
Total average of inmates for fourteen institutions	429
Average annual cost of support	276.51
Average weekly cost of support	5.88
Expended for salaries of officers, wages and labor	452,432.28
Average annual cost per capita expenditure for salaries, management, etc.	127.67

—Rep., p. 37.

The report of the State Board of Charities for 1902 contains among others the following instructive data.

There were persons remaining in the institutions receiving public money, subject to the visitation and inspection of the State Board of Charities, at the close of the fiscal years from 1898 to 1902 inclusive:

In 1898	62,215
In 1899	61,570
In 1900	60,637
In 1901	61,461
In 1902	60,804

Fourteen of the State charitable institutions are subject to the visitation and inspection of the Board.

The receipts of these institutions for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1902, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year ($66,577.22), amounted to $1,374,886.21. Their expenditures aggregated $1,265,775.01.

Private institutions receiving State appropriations had total receipts $1,060,497.63. Their expenditure aggregated $917,259.63 and the total number of their beneficiaries was 3,324, or about $275 for each beneficiary. (Rep., p. 32, 1902.)

If the poor receiving so-called indoor relief in various public charities are hopeless, officially recognized paupers; the poor receiving outdoor relief have to be classified as an intermediary class between the paupers and respectable poor. The poor receiving out-door relief, especially those who receive it only temporarily, under the stress of some exceptional calamity, are struggling violently against pauperism and make all possible efforts to keep up at least the appearance of a home of their own.

We will take here the data of the report of the Board of Charities of the State of New York for the year 1902.

According to the census of 1900 the population of the State of New York was 4,919,190, while the population of the City of New York was 3,437,202. (Rep., p. 27.)

The number of poor persons receiving temporary relief was in the State of New York 51,873, while the number of poor persons receiving temporary relief in the City of New York was 1,038. In other words, 0.03 per cent of the entire population of New York City and one of each 95 of the inhabitants of the State of New York received out-door relief in 1900. (Ibidem.)

In 1901 the number of poor persons receiving temporary relief in the City of New York was 1,161, while in the State it was 48,365.

In 1902 the number of poor persons receiving temporary relief in the City of New York is not given, while for the State of New York the figure of 31,441 is given.

The per capita expenditure for temporarily relieved in the City of New York in 1900 reached $38.75, in 1901 $37.24.

Following are data about out-door relief in five leading States of the Union in 1893, 1892, 1891 and 1889, respectively:

	Year.	Number relieved.	Expense.	Population.
New York State	1892	131,439	$ 681,934.99	5,497,853
Pennsylvania	1892	25,027	474,347.78	5,258,014
Michigan	1889	39,115	420,829.13	2,093,889
Ohio	1891	67,927	442,282.51	3,672,316
Wisconsin	1892	4,492	148,671.45	1,686,880
California	1893		304,790.00	1,208,136
Total			$2,472,875.86	19,917,082

It is interesting to note that the two richest States in the Union, having approximately the same population, occupy the first two places in the table in respect to expenses on out-door relief.

Each one of 45.6 inhabitants of the State of New York received outdoor relief in 1892. In the same year *each one of 210 inhabitants of the State of Pennsylvania received outdoor relief. Pauperism was consequently about 4.6 stronger in New York than in Pennsylvania in 1892.*

About outdoor relief Seth Low said in his report to the national conference of charities as follows:

"Outdoor door relief, so-called, began in Brooklyn in 1851-1852. For the year ending July 31, 1852, the number of people helped was 6,754, at a cost of $7,139.99. With some variations this had grown in 1864 to 20,743 persons helped at a cost of $25,921.47. In 1865 the general demoralization grew worse uninterruptedly as a result of the war. In 1865, while only 1,500 more people were helped than in 1864, it cost the county $72,708.97 against $25,921 in 1864, an increase of $46,000 in a single year. In 1877 help was given to 64,350 persons or nearly one-tenth of the population at an average cost of $114,-943.72. The total outlay for this period of six years by King's County is estimated in round numbers to have been, for outdoor relief, $689,-662.35. To such an item at last had grown the kindly and apparently harmless thing. The population of King's County is estimated in round numbers to have been in 1852, 150,000; in 1864, 320,000; in 1877, 550,000. In 1875 the Commissioners of Charity employed paid visitors to investigate the cases of applicants for relief,

and it cost sixty dollars to distribute every dollar's worth of food and fuel. This was so monstrous that public clamor compelled a change. In 1876 the visiting system was abandoned, and all the applicants were compelled to take an oath that they were paupers. As may be imagined, the result was horrible. In 1878 the outdoor relief appropriations were stopped."

This seems to us a very curious page in the history of public charity in the United States.

As an indication of extreme poverty next to indoor and outdoor public charity the data on medical charity deserves our attention. The following table contains interesting figures as to the extent of medical charity in ten representative cities of the United States, according to Amos Warner:

City.	Population (census 1890).	Fiscal year.	Amount.	Per capita.
Brooklyn	806,343	1889-1890	$196,115.61	0.2432
St. Louis	451,770	1890	140,773.43	0.3116
Boston	448,477	1891	188,177.88	0.4195
Baltimore	434,439	1890-1891	111,790.00	0.2593
Cincinnati ...	296,908	1891	110,160.92	0.3710
Buffalo	255,664	1890	67,650.00	0.2646
Minneapolis ..	164,783	1890	17,842.00	0.1083
St. Paul	133,156	1891	27,269.02	0.2074
Indianapolis .	105,436	1890-1891	29,170.00	0.2767
Washington ..	230,392		145,625.00	0.6320
Total	3,327,323		$1,034,576.50	0.31693

Dr. Savage estimates *that in the City of New York there are between 300,000 and 350,000 patients treated free of charge annually in the various dispensaries, or one in each four of the entire tenement population or one in each 11.45 of the entire population of the City of New York.*

A writer in the Evening Post puts the estimate at 628,286, from which he deducts 178,057 duplications, leaving a net number of 452,529 distinct individuals receiving dispensary aid during the year. *According to this estimate one of each 7.59 inhabitants of New York City receives free medical treatment.*

According to the same authority the charity organization investigated 1,500 cases selected out of 35,000 applicants. The answer was that about one-fourth were able to pay, but were paupers in spirit, another fourth had given wrong addresses (probably to avoid public notoriety), and the remaining half were recommended as worthy of medical treatment by reason of poverty. For another dispensary the same society made an investigation of 212 cases and returned answer that 55 were able to pay, 50 were not found at the addresses given, 18 information not conclusive, and 31 unable to pay. These referred cases were questionable out of 30,000 patients. (See Amos G. Warner's book on Charities.)

In European countries extreme poverty leads to professional begging. Professional beggars are recognized as a class by themselves. No private home, street or church is closed to them. Public opinion considers it as quite proper for very poor people to make their livelihood by begging. Private charity prevails over public charity. Even if there is a law prohibiting begging it remains mostly as a dead letter.

In the United States public charity institutions are supposed to take care of all "worthy" poor and the "unworthy" poor are supposed to get along as well as they can without any aid whatever. Begging is considered as a crime.

And yet there are professional beggars in the United States, just as there are professional tramps and criminals.

The following incidents and descriptions, taken from the New York Sun, will give us an idea what kind of a class American professional beggars are and what methods they employ in order to attain their purpose in New York City:

"Detectives Hayes and Flynn of the Jefferson Market police court squad arrested two one-legged men beggars who were soliciting alms on Sixth avenue between 15th and 16th streets. One of them, who gave the name of William Smith, was recognized as a professional beggar, whose real name was Siebel. The other said that his name was George Allen. Both were young and well dressed and to all appearances perfectly able to work in spite of this lack of a limb apiece. Both said they lived at 12 Monroe street. In the last fortnight the same detectives have arrested three other beggars who gave the same address, and this fact led them to the suggestion to investigate, with the result that they have discovered what they have long expected—that there exists in this city a syndicate of professional beggars which has its headquarters at the Monroe street house. A man named Burns, who lives in Brooklyn, is at the head of the syndicate. He employs constantly ten to fifteen men, cripples preferred, whom he stations along the great thoroughfares of New York. Five or six are constantly at work in the Sixth avenue shopping district. The men are young, as a rule, and are scrupulously clean and neat. No exhibition of sickening deformities is permitted by the boss

and wounds are discouraged. All the men hand over a percentage of their proceeds to Burns. He on his part guarantees to care for them when they are sick, to free them when arrested, to provide them with a lodging and to direct their work. A special superintendent, or looker-out, not a cripple, is employed for the benefit of the shopping district squad. His duty consists in keeping an eye on the policemen and warning the beggars when a blue-coat is approaching. When the day's "work" is done the beggars enjoy life as much as any man, as is plain from an experience which Detective Hayes had in the last opera season. He happened to be standing near the opera house when a well appointed carriage drove up, the door was thrown open and out stepped Siebel, the professional, attired in immaculate evening dress. An artificial leg made it impossible to discover that he was a cripple. He was accompanied by a good-looking and stylishly dressed girl, whom he escorted into the building after telling the coachman to wait for them after the performance. Hayes said that he stood close to the man, and he knew him so well that a mistake was impossible.

Siebel is only 21 years old. He has been a handsome man, but just now his appearance is somewhat spoiled by a recent attack of typhoid fever. He always tells the policemen and court clerks that he is a clerk by profession, but he has been subsisting on alms for the last three years at least.

Both prisoners pleaded guilty to begging when arraigned in court. Magistrate Cornell sent Siebel to the workhouse for two months. Allen, who is not so well known to the police, was sent

there for one month." (New York Morning Sun, June 22, 1879.)

A beggars' trust is described as follows by the New York Herald:

"The oyster knife, the symbol of the proverbial hatchet in the realm of 'panhandling,' is buried. Such was the information which was bruited about in the slums district, from the Burnt Rag, in Cherry Street, to Hell Kitchen, at 39th street and 10th avenue. The panhandler is the professional fake beggar, who is seen on nearly every croner in the city. There are many bands of 'panhandlers' at work in the metropolis, all the way from Harlem to the Battery, but there are six rings which are particularly powerful. Of these Trixy's band, headquarters in Cherry street, in the vicinity of the Burnt Rag, a tenement house filled with 'panhandlers' and unfortunate women, is the most wide-awake of the lower quarter. Further up we enter the dominions of Big Meck's gang, whose headquarters are in James street, near Chatham Square. On the way thither we pass the 'Scratcher's Roost,' at Oak and James, where the most remarkable epistles to the millionaires and others are written, and also 'Blind Man's Alley,' which is the abode of scores of pencil venders, who are distributed about the city every morning, dressed in rags, and who pathetically hold out a little bunch of penny pencils as a subterfuge for begging.

" 'Big Meck's' band is the most wide reaching in its influence, and comprises no less than forty young toughs who are compelled to pay tribute to their chief, or get thrown into the cold with a beating whenever they 'go broke,' or to the Island without help or legal advice and service

when in trouble, or arrested on mere suspicion. 'Big Meck' superintends the gang, and if a man is sent a hundred miles to cover a certain territory he goes without question, and does his duty to his commander.

"If Big Meck tells him that his make up as a 'flash' or blister victim just discharged from the hospital is no good he becomes a 'mocker,' dressing up in castoff army or navy clothes, purchased in some 'goose alley' off West Broadway, and does the plaintive abandoned soldier act, prattling glibly of his charge up San Juan hill with 'our Teddy' at the front, or how he helped man the big gun on the Iowa when fighting Bob made Spanish the most popular language in Hades.

To the East of the lower city are several bands known as 'goose gangs,' in other words, castaway Hebrew toughs, who have rebelled against personal and rabbinical control, and Dutch bands, who are German toughs preying upon their own people. These with the Guinny gangs, of the Mulberry district, are not on the same level with the superior toughs ruled over by such gutter czars as 'Blackey,' ruler of the Flatiron gang, in Forsyth street, or 'Big Meck' of Chatham Square, 'Trixy' of the 'Burned Rag,' and 'Omaha Tom' of the 'Dock gang' in West street.

"These have long regarded one another with something of awe, rivals in a way, and now, for the first time, they have come together in conference and settled some differences of territorial rights whereby the smaller bands can be frozen out, or, rather, beaten out of competition entirely.

"Whereas most of these 'panhandlers' are

armed day and night. The favorite weapon is one that shields them from the suppressive measures of the police—a common oyster-knife, made of the steel of an old file. This is nothing more than a dagger, often very sharp.

"There is then a 'panhandler trust.'

"The leader of each band keeps in touch with the political leader of the ward, being a very valuable factor about a week before election.

"This was the observation of one of the 'panhandler chiefs' to the Herald's representative at parting in Stratton street: 'Luk at dose greasy whiskered geese,' he said, contemptuously, pointing up to the three floors of sweat shops one above another, out of whose windows came the sounds of whirring machines, and through them could be seen bearded slaves of toil, with the little round butterdish caps over grey hairs, bent low over their work. 'Luk at 'em. Dey works like dat for eighteen hours a day. I sees 'em as de sun jus' comes up over de house tops, when I am turning in after a night's work wid de gang; an' I sees 'em shut up at night because of the more light, wid pants at $1.20 a dozen fer making, dey turns out fifteen pair. Wid no more work in a month den dey do in a minute, I turns me out a clean fifty, I do. Well, dat's wot yer gets fer having brains, dat is, see?' "

How characteristic appears to us this attitude of mind of the parasite on the lowest stage of social life of parasitism in general. The social parasite of the upper ten thousand also despises all those who toil, and imagines himself to be of superior intellectual attainments.

So far we have spoken about paupers receiving in- and outdoor relief and professional beg-

gars, a class of people hardened and demoralized by want, a class of people that either never had or have lost self esteem and self reliance, a class of people who never did struggle against poverty or gave up the struggle in despair. This class represents the lowest state of the proletariat, as a German would call it, *"Das Lumpenproletariat,"* or in literal translation the Ragged proletariat.

The "Ragged proletariat," however, represents only a small fraction of the poor class.

Whilst many will rather die than enter an almshouse, many others suffer abject want, dire distress, without actually being penniless, and the great bulk of the residuum of the wage workers just contrive to drag out a more or less cheerless existence by means of intense and bitter druggery.

Mr. Frederick Harrison stated a few years ago the following:

"Ninety per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of a week, have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destruction that a month of bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism." (Report of the Industrial Renumeration Conference, 1886, p. 429.) This is true to a great extent in relation to the United States.

The proletariat of the slums of Baltimore, Chi-

cago, New York and Philadelphia is treated more or less extensively by the VII Special Report of the Commissioners of Labor, 1894.

We will make here a few extracts from this report.

The slum districts of sixteen principal cities of the United States, with a total population of 8,037,458, comprehends at least 10 per cent.

The population of the slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, as shown by the Eleventh Census, June 1, 1890, and by the Census of the Department of Labor, which represents the condition April 1, 1893, is as follows:

	Eleventh census.	April 1st. 1893.
Baltimore	16,878	18,048
Chicago	17,637	19,748
New York	27,462	28,996
Philadelphia	15,409	17,060
Total	77,386	83,852

The districts selected for canvassing by no means contained all the slum population of the cities in the investigation. According to the best estimates, the total slum population of Baltimore is about 25,000, of Chicago 162,000, of New York City 360,000, of Philadelphia 35,000. The slums of the city are in the dirty back streets, especially such streets as are inhabited by a squalid and criminal population, and they are low and dangerous neighborhoods. In these, as in any district, are to be found people of the higher respectability, people of means, living in good houses, but they form an exception. They have, however, been counted as inhabitants of the slum district by the report.

The above named cities were selected because they represent great types of American cities.

In the whole city of Baltimore the illiterates constitute 9.17 per cent of the native born population and 12.40 per cent of the foreign born, the percentage for both being 9.79 per cent. In the slum district of that city 8.13 per cent of the native born and 30.62 per cent of the foreign born are illiterate, while the percentage for both was 19.6 per cent. In the city of Chicago at large the illiterates constitute 0.81 per cent of the native born population and 8.31 per cent of the foreign born, the percentage of both being 4.63. But in the slum districts canvassed 5.64 per cent of the native born persons are illiterate and 33.86 per cent of the foreign born, the percentage for both being 25.37.

In New York the percentage of illiterates is 1.16 of the entire population and 14.06 of the foreign born, the percentage for both being 7.69, while for the slum population the percentage of native born who were illiterate was 7.20 and of the foreign born 57.69, the percentage for both being 46.65.

Philadelphia shows nearly as large a proportion of illiterates in the slum district as New York City, the figures for the whole population showing that 2.18 per cent of all native born persons are illiterate and 11.29 per cent of foreign born, the united percentage being 4.97. In the slum district of Philadelphia, however, 8.44 per cent of the native born persons and 46.61 per cent of the foreign born are illiterate, the percentage of the two classes being 37.07.

The *occupation* of the residents of the slum

districts in the four cities named are as varied, probably, as in the cities at large.

According to the Eleventh Census, the number of persons to a dwelling in Baltimore was 6.02, in Chicago 8.60, in New York 18.52, in Philadelphia 5.60. The averages in the slum districts are about the same for Baltimore and Philadelphia, there being in the former city 7.71 persons to a dwelling, and in Philadelphia 7.34 persons, *but the slum population averages 15.51 persons to each dwelling, and in New York 36.79 persons.* The table about the average size of families show for Baltimore 5.01, for Chicago 4.94, for New York 4.84, and Philadelphia 5.10, the slum families being slightly larger than the size of families in other parts of the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

The following tables show the percentage of persons in the slums under different industrial groups:

Baltimore.	Males. per cent.	Females. per cent.	Of persons under each group. per cent.
Agricultural, the fisheries and mining	82.8	17.1	0.4
Professional	84.82	15.	0.62
Domestic and personal services	82.92	17.08	11.26
Trade and transportation	90.11	9.81	10.26
Manufactures and mechanical industries	70.72	29.28	16.52
Non-productive (Not gainful)	*31.80*	*68.20*	*58.77*
Housewives' work		100	2.13
Scholars and at work	75.00	25.00	0.02

	Males. per cent.	Females. per cent.	Of persons under each group. per cent.
Chicago.			
Agricultural, the fisheries and mining	100		0.05
Professional	89.42	10.58	0.95
Domestic and personal services	84.23	15.77	14.29
Trade and transportation	90.31	9.69	11.29
Manufactures and mechanical industries	77.04	22.96	14.69
Non-productive (Not gainful)	*33.32*	*66.68*	*57.04*
Housewives' work		100	0.89
Scholars and at work	60.26	39.74	0.29
New York.			
Agricultural, fisheries and mining	96.43	3.57	0.1
Professional	90.80	9.20	0.9
Domestic and personal services	88.52	11.48	13.46
Trade and transportation	90.93	9.07	10.91
Manufactures and mechanical industries	67.17	32.83	15.04
Non-productive (Not gainful.	*37.83*	*62.7*	*57.12*
Housewives' work		100	2.19
Scholars and at work	52.44	49.56	0.28
Philadelphia.			
Agriculture, fisheries and mining	92.86	7.14	0.08
Professional	88.82	11.18	0.89
Domestic and personal services	82.40	17.60	11.56
Trade and transportation	91.40	8.52	11.15
Manufacture and mechanical industries	77.60	22.40	17.27
Non-productive (Not gainful)	*33.71*	*66.29*	*57.46*
Housewives' work		100	1.42
Scholars and at work	65.52	34.48	0.17

Glancing at the labor column, showing the proportion of persons falling under each industrial group, we see that in all the cities named the percentage of the non gainful group is the largest, reaching almost 60 per cent. The next largest is the group of manufacturing and mechanical industries. Domestic and personal services follow then, leaving a very small percentage to other groups.

The average earning per week was in Baltimore $8.65½
Chicago . 9.88½
New York 8.36
Philadelphia.... 8.68

The average hours of work per week in Baltimore 64.2
Chicago...60.94
New York 62.55
Philadelphia.....62.47

A large class of people, however, work ninety or over hours per week; in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia .14 per cent of wage earners receive under $5.00 weekly, while the number of those earning more than $5 but under $10 reached 37.59 per cent. The number of those earning $10 and more was only 24.62 per cent.

Persons unemployed and average months unemployed was as follows:

	Per cent unemployed.	Months unemployed.
Baltimore	8.67	3.6
Chicago	15.88	3.1
New York	9.02	3.1
Philadelphia	15.19	2.9

The average wages of all four of the cities investigated was $8.89 weekly. As on the

average one-fourth of the year there is no employment, we have to calculate only 39 weeks to the year. Consequently the average annual wages of inhabitants of slum districts amount to $346.71 only or $6.66 a week. This figure gains in silent eloquence if we take into consideration that 57.7 per cent of the inhabitants of the slums are engaged in nonproductive (not gainful) occupations.* The magnificent income of $346.71 has consequently to be stretched so as to cover the expenses of living of the sick, aged and children of the slums.

Instructive are likewise the figures about the number and per cent of families and individuals by tenement to a house.

In Baltimore there were an average of 1.19 persons to a room. Chicago shows an average of 1.37 persons to a room, New York City 1.88 and Philadelphia 1.47. The greatest number of tenements to a house varied from 13 in Baltimore to 29 in New York City, Philadelphia as high as 15 and Chicago 24. The large number of families in Baltimore, Chicago and Philadelphia living in houses having one to five tenements is noticeable. New York is, however, an exception, showing a greater proportion of families living in houses having larger numbers of tenements to the house. Philadelphia showed 53.91 per cent of all families, comprising 60.97 per cent of all individuals, living in houses of one tenement, that is, occupying the whole house. Baltimore follows with 36.25 per cent of families, comprising 43.12 per cent of all individuals. Chicago had

*In 1870 in the United States only 32.4 per cent of the population were reported as pursuing gainful occupation.

9.53 per cent of families, comprising 11.73 per cent of individuals, and New York only 1.84 per cent of families comprising 7.96 per cent of individuals. In New York and Chicago the number of persons to a dwelling in the slum district was almost double that found in the whole city. The figures for the slum districts are as follows:

Baltimore 7.75, Chicago 15.51, New York 36.79, and Philadelphia 7.34 persons to a dwelling.

In Baltimore 13.16 per cent of all families live in tenements of one room with an average of 3.15 persons to a room. In Chicago 5.87 per cent of all families live in one room, the average persons being 2.74. The per cent of families living in one room in New York was 5.62 and Philadelphia 12.10, with an average number of persons to the room of 3.13 and 3.11 respectively.

The percentage of families living in two rooms in each of the four cities is shown to be as follows:

Baltimore 27.88 per cent, Chicago 19.14 per cent, New York 44.53 per cent, and Philadelphia 19.41 per cent.

The average persons to a room in these families were, in Baltimore 1.92 persons, in Chicago 1.93, New York 2.14, and Philadelphia 1.99. The comparative number of families living in tenements of three and four is also large, the number of families living in tenements of over four rooms comprising but a small per cent of all families.

In Baltimore slum districts but 7.35 per cent of all families, comprising only 9.51 per cent of the total population, have both rooms big. The pencentage of families and individuals not hav-

ing both rooms big is 92.65 per cent and 90.79 per cent of the houses investigated in New York and 82.28 per cent in Philadelphia.

The greatest proportion of families having yards was in Philadelphia, the percentage being 89.56. In New York and Baltimore slightly more than 84 per cent had yards, while in Chicago but 64.47 per cent of its families involved in the investigation had yards.

A few extracts from Jacob Riis's "How the Other Half Lives"* will give color to the truthful but somewhat dry statistical data we have presented:

"In the tenements all the influences make for evil; because they are the hot beds of epidemic that carry death to the rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts; that throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks to the island asylums and workhouses year by year; that turned out in the last eight years a round half million beggars to prey upon our charities; that maintain a standing army of ten thousand tramps with all that that implies; because, above all, they taint the family life with deadly moral contagion. (p. 3.)

"*Neither legislation or charity can cover the ground. The greed of capital that wrought the evil must itself undo it, as far as it can be undone.* (p. 4.)

"A tenement house is generally a brick build-

*The latest publications of the same do not add anything essentially new to his fundamental work we are quoting here at some length. His "Ten Years' Battle" rather proves that the conditions depicted by him in his first book did not change materially.

ing from four to six stories high on the street, frequently with a store on the first floor, which, when used for the sale of liquor, has a side opening for the benefit of the inmates and to evade the Sunday law. Four families occupy each floor, and a set of rooms consists of one or two dark closets used as bedrooms, with a *living* room 12x10. The staircase is too often a dark well in the center of the house, and no direct thorough ventilation is possible, each family being separated from the other by partitions. Frequently the rear of the lot is occupied by another building of three stories high with two families on a floor. A barrack downtown, where he *has to live* because he is poor, brings a third more rent than a decent flat house in Harlem. It no longer excites the attention, even passing attention, when the sanitary police report 101 adults and 91 children in a Crosby street house, one of twins, built together. The children in the other numbers 89, a total of 180 children for the two tenements; or when a midnight inspection in Mulberry street unearths a hundred and fifty lodgers sleeping on the filthy floors in two buildings. *The tenements to-day in New York* City are harboring *three-fourths* of its population. (pp. 18 and 19.)

"*New York's wage-earners have no other place to live in than in the tenements, more is the pity.* They are truly poorer for having no better homes; waxing poorer in purse as the exorbitant rent to which they are tied keeps rising (p. 23). The case that came to my notice in a Seventh Ward tenement was typical enough. There were nine in the family; husband, wife, grandmother and six children; honest hardworking Germans,

scrupulously clean, but poor. All nine lived in two rooms, one about ten feet square that served as parlor, bedroom and eating room, the other a small hall room made into a kitchen. The rent was seven dollars and a half a month, more than a week's wages for the husband and father, who was the only breadwinner in the family. That day the mother had thrown herself out of the window and was carried up from the street dead. "She was discouraged," said some of the other women from the tenement, who had come in to look after the children while a messenger carried the news to the father at the shop. (p. 47).

"According to the police figures, 4,974,025 separate lodgings were furnished last year by these dormitories, or cheap lodging houses, between two and three hundred in number, and adding the 147,634 lodgings furnished by the station houses, the *total of the homeless army was 5,121,659, an average of over fourteen thousand homeless men* (deduct 69,111 women lodgers in the police station) *for every night in the year.* (p. 89). In the dull content of the life bred on the tenement house dead level there are few redeeming features. There is nothing to calm apprehension for a society that has nothing better to offer its toilers. The patient efforts of the lives devoted to rendering the situation tolerable, and the very sources of these efforts, serve only to bring out in stronger contrast the general gloom of the picture, by showing how much farther they might have gone with half a chance. Go into any of the "respectable" tenement neighborhoods, be with and amongst its people until you understand their ways, their aims

and the quality of their ambitions, and unless you can content yourself with the Scriptural promise "that the poor we shall have always with us," or note the menagery view, that if fed, they have no cause of complaint, you shall come away agreeing with me that, humanly speaking, life there does not seem worth living (p. 162). It is (the tenement of the slum districts) the frame in which are set days, weeks, months and years of unceasing toil, just able to fill the mouth and clothe the back. Such as it is, it is the world, and all of it, to which these weary workers return nightly to feed heart and brain after wearing out the body at the bench, or in the shop (164).

"Every once in awhile a case of downright poverty and starvation gets into the newspaper and makes a sensation. But this is the exception. *Were the whole truth known it would come home to the community with a shock that would rouse it to a more serious effort than the spasmodic undoing of its pursestrings. I am satisfied from my own observation that hundreds of men, women and children are every* day slowly starving to death in the tenements with my medical friends' complaint of improper nourishment. Within a single week I have had three cases of insanity, provoked directly by poverty and want (p. 171).*

*Incidentally we may point out here, that the number of mentally unbalanced in the State of New York deserves attention as an indication of the ever-increasing strain on the nervous system, caused by the economic struggle for existence. The annual census of the insane of New York, as presented by the State Board of Charities, shows an increase of 660 annually during the twelve years ending October 1, 1902, or a total of

"The truth is that pauperism grows as naturally as weeds in a garden lot" (p. 246).

The following extract from the Chicago Tribune (1903) demonstrates that the conditions are not much different in Chicago than in New York:

"As prosperity increases the hardships of poverty increase proportionally. Prosperity raises prices but does not raise wages of washerwomen and scrubwomen, of day laborers. The present winter promises to test the resources of Chicago's charities to their utmost. Added to the high prices demanded for food is the high price demanded for coal."

In these words, Ernest P. Bicknell, superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, summed up the situation in Chicago: "It is an odd situation," added he, "that compels those who can least afford it to pay the highest price for coal. The fact that the poor are forced to purchase their fuel by the basketful makes them bear the heaviest burden of the suffering resulting from the famine in fuel."

Such conditions make the existence of a large portion of the population of the United States precarious and dependent on the tender mercies of the parasitic classes without even the means

7,920. At the beginning of the period the insane numbered one to each 533 of the population and in 1892 one to each 373 of the population. The increase of the population from 1880 to 1890 was 28 per cent, while the increase of the number of insane during the same period was 38 per cent. [Remark of the author.] In eight years 135,595 families in New York were registered as asking or receiving charity. For the five years past *one* person in every ten who *died in this city was buried in the Potter's field* (p. 243).

of approaching complete life worthy of human beings.

Is it to be wondered at, that the philosophy of Discontent and Pessimism is the philosophy of our age of mercantile civilization?

This philosophy was aptly expressed by Mrs. Browning in her "Aurora Leigh":

"The world, look round—
The world we're come to, late, is swollen hard,
With perished generations and their sins;
The civiliser's spade grinds horribly
On dead men's bones, and cannot turn up soil
That's otherwise than fetid. All success
Proves partial failure, all advance implies
What's left behind; all triumph, something crushed
At the chariot wheels; all government, some wrong;
And rich men make the poor, who curse the rich,
Who agonise together, rich and poor,
Under and over, in the social spasm
And crisis of the ages. Here's an age
That makes its own vacation; here we have stepped
Across the bounds of time, here's nought to see,
But just the rich man and just Lazarus,
And both in torments, with a mediate gulf,
Though not a hint of Abraham's bosom, Who,
Being man and human, can stand calmly by
And view these things, and never tease his soul
For some great cure? No physic for this grief,
In all the earth, and heavens too."

THE CHILDREN OF POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Each stage of culture and civilization has its own conception of right and wrong, virtue and vice, honor and disgrace, its own philosophy of life. This fact is in strict accord with the materialistic or evolutionary conception of history. Even the myths of the ancient nations testify that hero-worship is subject to evolutionary changes. The gods of Babylonians, for instance, were ferocious human-flesh devourers, while the deities of ancient Greece were drunkards and adulterers. The phenomenon of idealization of the human type at a given time and place into a supernatural being has for the student of human destinies a peculiar significance. This phenomenon reflects the philosophy of the life of a nation. The stratification of society in distinct castes or classes, the so called higher and lower classes, is but another illustration of the interdependence existing between material conditions and human ideas in general. The aristocracy of Greece of the age of Pericles consisted of slaveholders, who devoted almost all their time to a harmonious development of mind and body. The soldier, the thinker, the orator, the artist, the statesman were the heroes of that age.

Rome was ruled by a military caste, and its hero was a strenuous warrior, a conqueror of nations. Physical strength and endurance were considered as virtues (*vita, vis, virtus, vir* meant life, power, virtue, man). To be physically weak,

to lack animal spirits, to be effeminate was considered a degradation. The essentially military civilization of Rome, and Roman conception of human worth and worthlessness prevailed with but slight modifications during the early part of the middle ages. When, however, the power of the independent feudal nobility was absorbed by the kings, and the feudal system of land tenure turned into a stable economic system, the ideas about social distinctions underwent a transformation. Heredity, blueblood, was esteemed higher than material wealth. A trader or merchant did not dare to dream about social equality with a nobleman. The growth of the middle or bourgeois-class introduced a sordid commercial social ideal, a philosophy of life based on material wealth, a conception about human worth and worthlessness directly measurable by an economical status. Ethics were reduced to arithmetics and religion degraded to worship of success.

The aristocracy of our commercial age is a plutocracy. Neither the bravery of a soldier, nor a long line of ancestors, but the money bag, confers social distinction of the highest order. The most successful money maker is the hero of our time. It was a disgrace to be a physical weakling or a coward in ancient Rome. A low born merchant, however rich, could not raise his head in the presence of feudal snobs. In our time there is no greater disgrace than material poverty and want. In our parasitical civilization the most successful social parasite is the hero. The descendants of a moral leper like Jay Gould, are always before the public eye, as the descendants of some robber baron in the dark ages were, while the poor children of the poor, laborers de-

frauded by the same Jay Gould, remain in contemptuous obscurity. What does it matter how Jay Gould acquired his riches? *Non olet!* Money has no odor!

This modern spirit of success-worship and contempt of failure to attain economic success is probably the cause of the absence of reliable data about the number of the poor in the United States.

The successful "captains of industry" are not over-anxious to make an exhibit of the victims of their exploits. On the other hand the "respectable poor" prefer rather to suffer all the horrors of starvation and dire want, than to make their indigence known to strangers.

The student of the economic conditions of the so-called lower classes of the population of the United States is compelled to take recourse to the circumstantial evidences of poverty contained in the incomplete and fragmentary data of public charity statistics, reports about the life of people in the slums of great cities and similar documents.

Inadequate as these sources of information appear, they however unroll before our eyes at least a part of the picture, a part by which we may form our more or less correct conception about the rest of the picture. Taking into consideration the above mentioned aversion of the respectable poor to publicity, we may safely conclude that our sources of information may lead us to an underestimate of the number of the poor in the United States rather than to an over statement of facts. In our days of commercial culture and mercantile civilization poverty is considered as a disgrace and many a man and many a woman

prefer to suffer the biting pangs of bitter poverty in silence rather than to make their indigence known to strangers.

There is, however, one element of the poor untainted by any of the prejudices of a parasitic civilization, one element who do not make any secret of their destitution and want. This element is the innocent children that are dragged into pauperism and destitution by their parents.

In the American experience the large number of the destitute children is striking.

Out of 4,310 persons dealt with by the New York C. O. S. in 1891 40.8 per cent, or 1,762, were under 14 years of age. In Boston out of 3,972 individuals dealt with 42.5 per cent were under fourteen years of age. In Buffalo out of 2,515 individuals 48.3 per cent were under 14 years of age. In Baltimore the per cent of those under 14 years of age drops to a little less than 16 (15.8).

On the whole it must be concluded that *in the United States the leading cause of incipient pauperism,* as investigated by American charity organization societies, *is the weakness of children.* New York and California have now about 250 children of the dependent class to each thousand of their population. At the Denver conference of charities, Mr. Hart, of the Minnesota State Board of Charities and Corrections, estimated the number of dependent children in the United States to be 74,000. The expenditure for building and "plant" used in taking care of these children he put at $40,000,000, and the annual expenditure for maintenance in all the forms $9,500,000. About 9,000 persons were supposed to be employed as care-takers. There were 15,000

inmates in juvenile reformatories costing $10,000,000 and entailing an annual average charge for maintenance of $2,000,000. (These juvenile delinquents are of course children of the poor.) Read Edna Sheldrake's article in the World's Review (April 27, 1901), who draws the following composite picture of a "juvenile delinquent": "He is 12½ years old, one of seven people living in three rooms. These rooms are such as can be rented for $7.50 per month. Eight dollars, sixty cents per week pays the rent, buys fuel, food, clothing, pays the fee required in the parochial school, buys books,—in short, provides for all the needs required of the family. There is no place for healthy recreation. The house is crowded, dreary, uninviting. Cheap and pernicious museums with a placard outside, 'Ladies not admitted' abound in the neighborhood."

The increase of the number of infants in the infant asylums as compared with the increase of the population during the years 1894-98 was as follows in Manhattan and the Bronx:

Year.	Population.	Per cent increase.	Population in infant asylums.	Normal increase.
1894	1,809,353	29.02	2,747	802.194
1895	1,879,195	37.08	2,708	1023.624
1896	1,934,077	29.02	2,738	799.496
1897	1,990,562	29.02	2,920	852.640
1898	2,048,830	29.03	3,006	86.756

It appears for the years 1896 and 1898 the increase was under normal, while in 1897 it was decidedly abnormal. The death rate of children in these asylums varies from 1.58 per cent

(Hebrew Asylum) to 40.35 per cent (St. Joseph's Home for Babies), or an average of 21.75 per cent.

The census of these institutions on the 1st day of October each year from 1894 to 1898 was as follows:

1894	12,594
1895	12,192
1896	11,267
1897	10,899
1898	11,610

The following table shows the population of the borough of Bronx and Manhattan and also the population of children in institutions of the orphanage class from the same borough, and the rate of such children to each 1,000 of the general population:

Years	General population.	Destitute children.	Rate of each child to each 1,000 of the general population.
1894	1,809,353	12,594	6.95
1895	1,879,195	12,192	6.48
1896	1,934,077	11,267	5.82
1897	1,990,562	10,899	5.47
1898	2,048,830	11,610	5.67

At the same time there were destitute infants:

1894	2,748	1.51
1895	2,708	1.44
1896	2,738	1.41
1897	2,920	1.46
1898	3,006	1.46

It may be instructive in connection with these figures to cast a cursory glance at the data about the population of institutions in receipt of pub-

lic money but in private control from the close of the fiscal year ending September 30, 1896, to September 30, 1901 (Homes for Children):

September 30, 1896	(119 institutions)	27,769
September 30, 1897	(121 institutions)	28,380
September 30, 1898	(123 institutions)	29,967
September 30, 1899	(123 institutions)	29,440
September 30, 1900	(122 institutions)	28,649
September 30, 1901	(121 institutions)	29,241

The increase of the number of inmates for the year ending September 30, 1901, was 591 (Official Report Charity Association, p. 140).

A peculiar feature of the New York State public charity is the marked tendency to build up private eleemosynary institutions of the State at the expense of public ones. One institution, officered by a religious order, received from the city government more than $260,000 per year. A list of over two hundred private institutions for orphaned children and the friendless in New York shows, that of their total revenue but $1,225,104.69 was derived from legacies, etc., while more than twice as much money, namely, $2,664,614.40, came from the taxpayers of the State, county and city. The following data furnished by Mrs. Josephine Shaw-Lowell proves that curious policy:

Years.	Population.	Expenses for prisoners and paupers in public institutions.	Expenses for paupers in private institutions.	Total.
1850.....	515,547	$ 421,882	$ 9,863	$ 431,745
1860.....	813,669	746,549	128,850	875,399
1870.....	942,292	1,355,615	334,828	1,690,443
1880.....	1,206,577	1,348,383	1,414,257	2,761,640
1890.....	1,600,000	1,949,100	1,845,812	3,794,972

Writing in 1891, Mrs. Josephine Shaw-Lowell said: "The point to which I wish to call attention is that the city of New York continues, at the bidding of legislature, to pay without protest, year by year, increasing sums for the support of public dependents under the care of persons in private institutions, many of whom, but for this provision, would probably not be dependent at all, while at the same time the public dependents, under the care of public officers in public institutions, are housed in buildings which are in danger of falling down, and are a discredit to the city."

For the year 1898 the population was 3,438,899. For public prisoners and paupers $2,334,456.49 was expended, and for paupers in private institutions $3,131,580.51 was expended. In view of this data, it will be interesting to state here the amount appropriated by other large cities of the United States to private institutions. According to statistics collected by the special committee of charities, organizations, and societies, the data are as follows:

Chicago	$ 2,796.00
Philadelphia	151,020.00
St. Louis	22,579.30
Boston	none.
Baltimore	227,350.00
Cincinnati	none.
Cleveland	none.
New Orleans	30,110.00
Pittsburg	none.
Washington	194,500.00
Detroit	8,081.00
Milwaukee	none.
Newark	7,500.00
Jersey City	none.
Minneapolis	2,000.00
New York City	3,131,580.51

Only about 21 per cent of the cost of dependent children is borne by private benevolence in New York City. (Conference on care of Dependent and Delinquent Children, New York, 1893, pp. 164 and 165.) The city controller of New York, Hon. Bird S. Coler, says in his paper on Municipal Subsidies (Charities, Vol. III, p. 16):

"Seventy institutions receive appropriations aggregating $350,000 in bulk, i. e., upon no basis of payment for actual services performed. An examination of the returns made by the institutions receiving appropriations in bulk from the city treasury shows that many of them are using the public funds for purposes not authorized by the constitution (i. e., not 'for care and maintenance'). The reports of a large number of institutions show the money annually obtained from the city carried forward wholly or in part as surplus. Different uses are made of this surplus, none of them, however, authorized by law, or warranted by a proper regard of the interests of the taxpayer. In some cases this surplus is used to pay off mortgage indebtedness, in others for permanent addition to buildings or for increase of investments and endowment. In one case the manager of an institution frankly explained a remarkable falling off in disbursements (so great that its charitable activities were almost suspended) by stating that it was proposed by exercising great economy for a number of years to let the city annual appropriations accumulate into a respectable building fund."

That this subsidy system of public charities may cover a multitude of political sins of commission and omission seems to us obvious. There

is nothing sacred to old party politicians. Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry, president of "The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," in his defence of the society and its methods before Albert Stickney, appointed by Justice Beach to investigate the institution, admitted that Superintendent Jenkins had a contract for feeding children at twenty-five cents a meal. Mr. Jenkins gets an annual salary of $3,000, has a floor in the building of the society, rent free for his family, and lives in summer at Larchmont. Mr. Gerry admitted, also, that he in one year made $993 out of the contract for feeding the children, and in no year had to lose anything (New York Morning Journal, June 22, 1892).

As we are not interested at present in the study of methods of public charity we will pass the foregoing statements without any further comment.

Foundling hospitals are for the most part institutions where infants die. A death rate of 97 per cent per annum for children under three years of age is not uncommon in some institutions. The cause of such mortality is due to neglect. From 1,439 children who died in 1899, 1,123 were inmates of infant asylums. Neglect of the children of the poor was the rule till 1875. Children were kept together with adult paupers in alms-houses. In 1875 a law was passed (Children's Law) which forbade the keeping of children between the ages of two and sixteen years in the alms-houses. It further stipulated that the county should pay child's board in some special institution. Special acts were subsequently passed enabling certain large institutions in New York to receive children at will and collect from the county two dollars per week

for the care of each. The above mentioned subsidy system then increased rapidly. In 1850 the amount appropriated for the poor cared for in private institutions was only $9,863. This amount grew by decades as follows:

In 1860, $128,850; in 1870, $334,828; in 1880, $1,414,257; in 1890, $1,845,870, and in 1900 for greater New York, $3,079,259. (Hon. Bird S. Coler in the Report of the National Conference of Charities, XXVIII.)

In 1892 (October 31) there were in the city and county alms-houses of the State of New York 936 children. Beside this there were in the private institutions of the State, but supported chiefly by the cities and counties, an army of 27,074 children. *In these private institutions alone, there was one dependent child to each 270 persons.* The cost of the children to the taxpayers of New York State for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1892, was $2,019,342.94. (Tables 19-21 in XXV Report of New York Board of Charities and Corrections, 1891.)

Only about twenty per cent of the dependent children of New York are orphans, and a very large number of them, as soon as they become old enough to be of use, are returned to their pauper relatives or friends, that is, the persons who had given them up to be paupers. (XXVIII Annual Report of New York State Board of Charities and Corrections.)*

*From the 30,973 children received in 127 homes for children Sept. 30, 1899, 9,363 had parents living. During the fiscal year ending September 30, 1901, there were discharged from the homes for children under private control, but in receipt of public money, 15,217 children. From them 9,868 (64.8 per cent.) were turned over to relatives, 43 to friends and guardians, and 598 became self supporting.

"Child storage at public expense" has been suggested as an appropriate sign over the entrance to the great New York caravansary for dependent children. Of the children supported by charity in New York one-seventh are supported in private institutions at private expense (fourteen per cent of the total expenditure). Twenty-one per cent of the expense of caring for the dependent children is borne by private benevolence, while seventy-nine per cent is borne by the city. In New York one institution that received in 1892 $250,000 from the city, received from private sources less than $500, and in the case of twelve institutions the receipts from private sources were less than five per cent of the total expenditure. (American Charities, by Amos G. Warner.)

The number of beneficiaries in institutions subject to the supervision of the Board of Charities, Oct. 1, 1899, was 70,572. Among them were 31,410, or about 44 per cent, dependent children.

The following table will show the expense of the State of New York for dependent children from the year 1889 to 1899:

Year.	Orphanage class.	Infant class.	Total expense.
1889	$1,135,886.46	$430,969.3	$1,566,855.79
1890	1,075,872.50	448,871.57	1,524,479.47
1891	1,186,864.10	452,146.32	1,639,010.42
1892	1,197,898.46	436,877.69	1,639,775.18
1893	1,195,002.29	455,273.68	1,650,275.97
1894	1,133,507.87	447,633.57	1,779,141.44
1895	1,180,564.97	431,990.00	1,612,515.06
1896	1,187,476.27	440,503.19	1,627,979.46
1897	1,257,939.84	463,788.03	1,721,727.87
1898	1,183,721.46	452,308.77	1,636,030.23
1899	1,580,732.00		

Bird S. Coler, controller of the city of New York, states that of a total of $3,249,623.81, appropriated for private charities in 1899, no less than $2,216,773, or 69 per cent, was for the care of children and their support. In no city in the United States will the number of children supported at public expense compare in proportion to population with the number of those cared for in New York City. In the city of New York, 50,638 children are supported in private institutions at public expense. This is one child to every 68 of the estimated population of the city (3,438,877).

Mr. C. Loring Brace, the secretary of the Children's Aid Society in the year 1901, stated in his report that during the last twelve months the expenditures of that organization amounted to no less than $543,109.07. The number of children aided during the last year was given by Mr. Brace in tabular form as follows:

Industrial school	16,364
Given relief in their homes	9,307
In lodging houses	4,226
In farm schools	645
In charge of probation officers	300
In summer homes	19,562
Given a day's outing	1,781
Treated by sick mission	1,486
Placed in homes	476
Placed in homes at wages	247
Assisted to emigrate	712
Total	55,106

(*New York Times,* November 26, 1902.)

The statistical data we present here are sufficient to give an idea about the burden of pauperism weighing on the tender shoulders of the "poor

children of the poor." The figures and facts presented by us are more eloquent than any amount of sentimental circumlocution.

We would, however, not consider our presentation of the problem complete without a few extracts from the writings of a careful and conscientious, but somewhat conservative and optimistic observer, Mr. Jacob A. Riis. His known conservatism and rather unwarranted optimism guarantee that his assertions are free from any exaggerations. He cannot by any means be accused of being a calamity-howler, or malcontent demagogue.

About the children in the slums he says: "It is the home itself that constitutes their chief hardship. It is only when his years offer the boy an opportunity of escape to the street, that a ray of sunlight falls into his life. In his back yard or in his alley it seldom finds him out. Thenceforward most of his time is spent there, until the school or the shop claim him, but not in idleness. ("The Children of the Poor," p. 20.)

"There are still a lot of girls in Italian slums who drag as big loads as their brothers, but since the sewing machine found its way, with the sweater's mortgage, into the Italian slums also, little Antonia has been robbed to a large extent even of the poor freedom, and has taken her place among the wage-earners, when not on the school bench. Once taken, the place is here to keep for good. Sickness, unless it be mortal, is no excuse from the drudgery of the tenement. When recently, one little Italian girl, hardly yet in her teens, stayed away from her class in the Mott Street Industrial School so long that her teacher

went to look her up, she found the child in high fever, in bed, sewing on coats, with swollen eyes, though hardly able to sit up (p. 21). Poverty and ignorance are fearful allies in the homes of the poor against defenceless childhood. Two cases which I encountered in the East Side tenements, in the summer of 1891, are without a doubt typical of very many. The one was the case of little Carmen, who last March died in the New York Hospital, where she had lain five long months, the special care of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. She was found by the doctor lying in a little back room, up two flights, and looking upon a narrow back yard where it was always twilight. The room was filthy and close, and entirely devoid of furniture, with the exception of a rickety stool, a slop pail and a rusty old stove, one end of which was propped up with bricks. Carmen's bed was a board laid across the top of a barrel and a trunk set on end. I could not describe, if I would, the condition of the child when she was raised from the mess of straw and rags in which she lay. The sight unnerved even the nurse, who had seen little else but such scenes all summer. Loathsome bedsores had attacked the wasted little body, and in truth Carmen was more dead than alive (p. 23). I found boys, who ought to have been at school, picking bones and sorting rags. They said that they slept there (in the dumps). It was their home. They were children of the dump, literally. Two boys whom I found at the West Nineteenth Street dumps sorting bones were as bright lads as I have seen anywhere; one was nine years old and the other was twelve. Filthy and ragged, they fitted well

into their environment; even the pig I had encountered at one of the East River dumps was much more respectable, as to appearance, of the lot—but were entirely undaunted by it. They scarcely remembered anything but the dump. Neither could read, of course. Further down the river I came upon one, seemingly not over fifteen, who assured me that he was twenty-one. The dumps had stunted him. He did not even know what a letter was. He had been there five years and garbage limited his mental as well as his physical horizon (p. 29).

"It is a long time since I have heard a good honest laugh, a child's gleeful shout, in Ludlow Street. Children laugh because they are happy. They are not happy in Ludlow Street. Why should they be? Born to toil and trouble, they claim their heritage early and part with it late. There is work for the weakest hand, a step for the smallest feet in the vast tread-mill of these East Side houses. The average age at which these children leave school for good is rather below twelve than beyond it, by which time their work at home, helping their parents, has qualified them to earn wages that will more than pay for their keep. When, in the midnight hour, the noise of the sewing machine was stilled at last, I have gone the rounds of Ludlow and Hester and Essex streets, and counted often four and five and even six of the little ones in a single bed, sometimes a shake down on the board floor, often a pile of half-finished clothing brought home from the sweater, in the stuffy room of their tenement. In one I visited very lately, the only bed was occupied by the entire family lying lengthwise and crosswise, literally in layers, three

children at the feet, all except a boy of ten or twelve for whom there was no room. He slept with his clothes on to keep him warm, in a pile of rags just inside the door (pp. 38-39). It was said of Napoleon that he shortened the average stature of the Frenchman one inch by getting all the tall men killed in his wars. The tenement has done that for New York. My medical friend finds it a fact that poverty stunts the body, which he is pleased to call a beautiful provision of nature to prevent unnecessary suffering; there is less for poverty to perish then. It is a self-defence, he says, and he claims that the consensus of learned professional opinion is with him. It is the tenement that gives up the child to the street in tender years to find there the home it denied him. Its exorbitant rent robs him of the schooling that is his one chance to elude its grasp, by compelling his enrollment in the army of wage-workers before he has learned to read. Its alliance with the saloon guides his baby feet along the well-beaten path of the growler that completes his ruin. Its power to prevent and corrupt has always to be considered, its point of view always to be taken, to get the perspective in dealing with the poor, or the cart will seem to be forever getting before the horse in a way not to be understood" (p. 64).

"But if the three R's suffer neglect among the children of the poor, their lessons in the three D's—Dirt, Discomfort and Disease, that form the striking features of their environment—are early and thorough enough (p. 67).

"Poverty and child-labor are yoke-fellows everywhere. Their union is perpetual, indissoluble. The one begets the other. Need sets the

child to work when it should be at school and its labor breeds low wages, thus increasing the need. That the law 'prohibiting children under the age of fourteen to work in factories' has had the effect of greatly diminishing the number of child-workers I do not believe. The child of eleven at home and at the night school is fifteen in the factory as a matter of course. Nobody is deceived, but the perjury defeats the purpose of the law (pp. 92, 93).

"I undertook a census of a number of the most crowded houses, in company with a policeman not in uniform. The outcome proved that, as I suspected, as regards those houses at least (and I have no doubt they were a fair sample of the rest), the law was practically inoperative. In nine tenements that were filled with home-workers we found five children at work, who owned that they were under age. Two were girls, nine years of age. Two boys said they were thirteen. We found thirteen who swore that they were of age. In seven back-yard factories we found 63 children, of whom five admitted being under age, while the rest, 45, seemed surely so. To the other thirteen we gave the benefit of the doubt, but I do not think they deserved it. All the 63 were to my mind certainly under fourteen, judging not only from their size but from the whole appearance of the children. My subsequent experience confirmed me fully in this belief (p. 95).

"A vast horde of fifty thousand children is growing up in this city (New York) whom our public schools do not and can not reach; if it reaches them at all it is with the threat of jail. The mass of them is no doubt to be found in the

shops and factories as I have shown. A large number peddle newspapers, or black boots. Still another contingent, much too large, does nothing but idle, in training for the penitentiary. As a matter of fact the record of average attendance shows that the public school per cent reaches little more than a third of all the children. And even those it does not hold long enough to do them the good that was intended. The superintendent of schools declares that the average at which the children leave school is twelve or a little over (p. 126).

"Under the heading, 'Just one of God's children,' one of the morning newspapers told the story last winter of a newsboy at the Brooklyn Bridge who fell in a fit with his bundle of papers under his arm, and was carried into the waiting room by the bridge police. The reporters asked the little dark-eyed woman at the bridge entrance which boy it was.

"Little Maher it was," she answered.

"Who takes care of him?"

"Oh! no one but God," said she, "and he is too busy with other folks to give him much attention."

"Little Maher was the representative of a class that is happily growing smaller year by year. There are homeless children in New York. It is certain that we shall always have our full share. The menace of the Submerged Tenth has not been blotted out from the register of the Potter's field, and though the "twenty thousand poor children who would not have known that it was Christmas" but for the public notice to that effect, be a benevolent fiction, there are plenty whose brief lives have had little enough of the

embodiment of Christmas cheer and good will in them to make the name seem like a bitter mockery (p. 247).

"It is in the lodging houses for homeless children one may study the homelessness that mocks the miles of brick walls which enclose New York's tenements, but not its homes. One may still hunt up by night waifs who make their beds in alleys and cellars and abandoned sheds. This last winter two stable fires that broke out in the middle of the night routed out little colonies of boys, who slept in the hay (p. 257).

"What drove the outcast boy to the street? Drunkenness and brutality at home helped the tenement to do it, half the time. It drove his sister out to a life of shame, too, as likely as not. Four-fifths of the homeless children, perhaps, are outcasts, the rest homeless waifs (p. 259).

"A bed in the street, in an old box or corner, is good enough for the ragamuffin who thinks the latitude of his tenement unhealthy, when the weather is warm. In winter the boys can curl up on the steam pipes in the newspaper offices that open their doors after midnight on secret purpose to let them in. When this fails, there is still the lodging house as a last resort (p. 260)."

These quotations will suffice to show a glimpse of the inferno to which the childhood of the poor is doomed.

We may repeat here Tennyson's words in his "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After":

"Is it well, that, while we range with science, glorying in time,
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?

There, among the glooming alleys Progress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands on the street.
There the master scrimps his haggard seamstress of her daily bread;
There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead.
There the smoldering fire of fever creeps across the rotten floor,
And the crowded couch of incest, in the warrens of the poor."

Is it well? naive question! Is it natural, is it human, is it *economic* to let the children of the poor "soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?"

In its solicitude for the preservation of the various living species, nature implanted in the heart of the animal the instinct of affection for offspring. Even the most ferocious beasts of prey, the tiger and the lion, are endowed with the instinct of love for their progeny. The higher an animal species stands on the ladder of evolution, the longer is his period of helpless infancy, the better the care given it during that period.

That the instinct of attachment to offspring reaches its highest stage of development in the human race is only natural. "Child" is the most pathetic word in the human vocabulary. The human heart does not know any more endearing sight than that of an infant in its touching helplessness and perfect abandon. The human heart is overflowing with tender emotion at the contemplation of the sweet enigma of childhood. In the entire material world there is nothing more sacred, pure and full of radiant hope than childhood with its vast possibilities of develop-

ment into ideal maturity. What a dismal desert life without childhood would be! What is a human family without the crowning glory of children? Nothing but legalized prostitution. The development of human society from a herd of half brutes and savages to a race of civilized and cultured beings may be measured by the kind and degree of care and attention it bestows upon its offspring. The higher a nation stands on the stage of culture and civilization, the stronger is its race-consciousness, the more pronounced is the recognition of its duty towards future generations, the more emphatic is its assertion of the rights of children as members of society.

In our present commercial age of civilization the most sacred human relations—the family relations—are polluted by stupid mercantile considerations and corroded by irrational economic conditions. The matrimonial market is a tacitly recognized economic institution; in the same sense as the board of trade—an officially sanctioned gambling institution. Pure affection between the representatives of different sexes at the age of maturity seldom furnishes the basis of family life. Imbeciles, profligates and degenerates may get the sexual commodity called husband or wife on the matrimonial market if they happen to be financially well situated and can pay the price. The fair proletarian maiden and sturdy youth of the class of the poor can not compete with the man with the coin in the matrimonial market. The heaven of family affection, the raptures of a child's innocent caresses, the blessings of a healthy progeny, are often denied them on the world's auction. The

fair proletarian maiden is cast on the thorny path of sexual slavery and her brother is driven to sexual profligacy. Those proletarians, however, who dare to defy Mammon and his priests and marry in spite of all economic consideration are by the existing conditions compelled to pay a fearful penalty, as we have convinced ourselves, and drag their children along into pauperism. Degrading, grinding want and misery, unhealthy surroundings, hopeless struggle against poverty, brutalizes the proletarian father and mother, turns the blessing of babyhood and childhood into a curse and perverts the instinct of creative love into its destructive opposite. Children are looked upon as a source of income and doomed to the fate of eternal drudgery.

The exhausting soul-killing drudgery of physical labor, the humiliation of poverty, the insecurity of means of livelihood, with its endless anxieties and unceasing cares, weaken the physical as well as the mental powers of the proletarian.

The waste of energy and ability due to such conditions is beyond all calculations.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the United States Commissioners of Labor, 1895-1896, on work and wages of men, women and children, contains some instructive data, throwing light on the causes of child and woman labor. The agents of the department secured information from 1,067 establishments of various kinds, located in 30 different States.

The report makes a comparison between the data of the period 1895-1896 and the former period ten years earlier:

"The increase and per cent of increase of

persons in 931 establishments over the former period were as follows: The increase of male employes 18 years of age and over amounted to 16,716, or 63.1 per cent, while the female employes 18 years of age or over increased 17,999, or 66.3 per cent. The male employes under 18 years of age increased 3,365, or 80.6 per cent, and the female employes under 18 years of age increased 6,008, or 89.1 per cent. It appears, therefore, that the increase of female and child labor was quite pronounced in comparison with the increase of adult male labor. 13.19 per cent of children from 10 to 15 years of age were at work at the time of the census of 1870. At the census of 1880 the proportion of children from 10 to 15 years of age at work was considerably larger, being 16.82 per cent. The whole number of children from 10 to 14 years of age in 1890 was 7,033,509, and of their number 603,013, or 8.57 per cent, were at work. The total number of children 15 years of age in 1890 was 1,288,764, but to arrive at the number of those who were workers in that year, an estimate must be made on the basis of those 10 to 14 years of age who were at work. Now, to have the results a general average of 8.57 per cent at work of the ages from 10 to 14, it is plain that the individual per cent for each of these ages would run about like this: For those 10 years old, 3 per cent; 11 years old, 5 per cent; 12 years old, 8 per cent; 13 years, 11.5 per cent, and for 14 years, 15.5 per cent. Such an estimate of the percentage at work at each age from 10 to 14 seems to be about what is necessary to bring the general average of 8.57 per cent at work when all from 10 to 14 years are lumped together. From this

it is manifest that of those 15 years old, about 20 per cent, or 257,773, must have been workers. Adding this to 603,013, the number of workers from 10 to 14 years, the result is 860,786. This number, or 10.34 per cent of the whole number of children 10 to 15 years of age in 1890, represents very closely the number at work. (Report, pp. 25, 26.)

In connection with these data it is interesting to note that out of 781 instances in which men and women work at the same occupation and perform their work with the same degree of efficiency men receive greater pay in 595, or 76.2 per cent, of the instances, and in 7.3, they receive the same pay for the same work. The men received 32.3 per cent greater pay than the women in the 595 cases in which they are given greater pay, while the women receive but 10.4 per cent greater pay in the 129 instances in which they are paid higher wages. Out of the 228 instances in which men and children (persons under 18 years of age) work at the same occupation with a like degree of efficiency, men receive greater pay in 24, or 10.5 per cent, while in 22 instances, or 9.7 per cent, they receive the same pay for the same work performed with the same degree of efficiency. The men received 56.6 per cent greater pay than the children in the 182 instances in which they are paid more, while the children receive but 8.6 per cent greater pay in the 24 instances in which they are paid higher wages." (Report, p. 30.)

The increasing perfection of the tools and methods of production, along with the minute subdivision of labor and co-operation of a vast number of workers, lead to the replacement of

the comparatively expensive labor of adult male workers by women and children. The labor of women and children is not only cheaper than that of adult male workers, but has in the eyes of the capitalist another great advantage. Women and especially children offer a great deal less resistance to the exactions of their exploiters.

This is the reason why, as the statistics of the labor bureaus of different States testify, the employment of women and children is constantly increasing in the United States.

About the work of women we will treat later, when analyzing the causes of poverty.

The Second Annual Report of the New York Labor Bureau, devoted entirely to an investigation of child labor, was summed up as follows: "My conclusions are: (1) The system of child labor exists in the State of New York in its worst form; (2) the compulsory education law is a dead letter; (3) the conditions of the laborers is of a low standard."

The Commissioner of Labor of Ohio, in his report for 1887 (p. 9), says: "My attention has been frequently called to the alarming growth of women and child labor in gainful occupations. Children are crowded into workshops at the age of twelve; when they reach manhood they are thrown out of work and their places filled with other boys."

The inspector of factories on New Jersey says, in his second annual report (p. 19): "Our examinations show that there are thousands of children in the State who know no change but from the workshop to bed and from the bed to the workshop."

The statistics in regard to the employment of

children, as given by the census of 1870, are as follows:

Total workers of all classes returned 12,505,-923.

Of these were children 10 to 15 years of age, 739,164.

Thus, one out of every seventeen employes in the United States engaged in any gainful occupation, was a child under 15 years of age.

In the tenth census the statistics show the following results:

Total number of workers of all classes returned	17,392,099
Of these were children 10 to 15 years	1,118,356

This is an average of one child out of every sixteen employes in the United States engaged in gainful occupations.

The number of children employed in other than agricultural pursuits increased during the decade of 1870-1880 sixty-six per cent, while the number of adults increased during the same period only forty-seven per cent. (Willoughby —Child Labor, p. 30.)

In those States where the factory system has reached the highest development the extension of the employment of children was extremely rapid. (Crowell, in the Andover Review of July, 1885.)

In cotton mills in 1880, one in each six of the employes was under fifteen years of age.

In mining they numbered one in twenty. In tobacco one in twelve.

The children toiling in sweatshops escape all control. Helen Campbell estimates that in New York alone 24,000 children under fifteen are employed, a great portion of which are in tene-

ment houses. Mr. Crowell, in the cited article, shows the employment of children in various States and industries as follows:

In Baltimore the ratio of children to all other employes in the cotton mills was 1:4. In Augusta, Ga., 1:3; in Alleghany, Pa., 1:4; in Brooklyn, 1:3; in Lancaster, Pa., 1:5, and in Boston, 12:17. In the six North Atlantic States, in 225 textile factories of special prominence, seventeen per cent of the employes are children. In Pennsylvania the textile industries gave work to 5,300 boys of fifteen years and under. New Jersey employed fully 15,000 children ranging from eight to fifteen years of age. Paterson, out of a working population of 20,000, there were 3,000 children at work. In Rhode Island the children composed twelve per cent of the whole working population. In the South the employment of children has in the last few years increased rapidly. In North Carolina thirteen per cent of the cotton factory operatives are children of fifteen or under.

According to the New York World, modern industrial conditions have increased child labor in the South more than 200 per cent in a single decade.

The percentage of the cotton factory operatives in Alabama under sixteen years of age is greater than in any other State of the Union; nearly 30 per cent. The census of 1900 shows in our Southern cotton factories 24,459 children under sixteen. The Tradesman of Chattanooga (Aug. 15) estimates that inasmuch as the number of mills has doubled at the South since the period covered by the census, the number under sixteen is now about 50,000. If the number of children

under sixteen has thus doubled in four years, we may assume that in another four years our operatives under sixteen may constitute an army of 100,000 souls. What will be the total in ten years, in twenty?

The following instances contained in a small pamphlet, entitled "Pictures from Life—Mill Children in Alabama," will illustrate the condition of child labor in the South:

A little boy of six years has been working 12 hours a day, from 6:20 a. m. to 6:20 p. m. (40 minutes off at noon), for 15 cents per day.

"Three boys aged respectively 9, 8 and 7 years. The boy aged 9 has been working two years, the boy aged 8 has been working three years; the boy aged 7 years has been working two years. These little fellows work 13 hours a day, from 5:20 A. M. to 6:30 P. M., with twenty minutes for dinner. In "rush" periods their mill works until 9:30 and 10 P. M. They were refused a holiday for Thanksgiving and they obtained Christmas day only by working till 7 P. M. in order to make up the time.

"Two girls, aged 16 and 11; each has had the fingers on one of her hands maimed by the machinery, one at the age of 9 and the other at the age of 8. These are not rare cases. Almost all of the children are growing up in total illiteracy.

The factory inspector of Chicago reported in 1881 4,600 boys and girls of fifteen and under in the factories and workshops. In 1882 there were found 6,900, an increase of sixty-eight per cent, while there was an increase of but eighteen per cent during the same year in the male laborers over that age.

In the American coal fields the labor of chil-

dren has been found in one of its worst forms. The industrial statistics of Pennsylvania for the year 1882-1883 reported 87,000 employed in that industry, of whom 24,000 were boys and four-fifteenths 15 years of age and under.

The number of boys who work in the hard coal mines is imperfectly realized in the rest of the United States. According to the report of the Bureau of Mines in Pennsylvania for 1901, 147,-651 persons were employed "inside and outside the mines of the anthracite region"; of these 19,564 were classified as slate-pickers, 3,148 as door-boys and helpers, and 10,894 as drivers and runners.

"The report makes no classification of miners by their ages, but I am convinced that 90 per cent of the slate pickers, 30 per cent of the drivers and runners, and all of the door boys and helpers are boys. In other words, a total of 24,023, or nearly one-sixth of all the employes of the anthracite coal mines, are children," says Mr. Frances H. Nicols in McClure's Magazine for February, 1903.

The same authority says that the legal age limit is usually falsified. "While the miner's boy is working in the breaker or the mine it is probable that his daughter is employed in a mill or factory," says Mr. Nicols.

The statistics of the coal counties of anthracite count up 11,216 females employed in them, 2,403 between twelve and sixteen years of age.

"The perjury certificate prevails for the girls as well as the boys, and I estimate that 90 per cent of the 11,216 females are girls who have not reached womanhood. They work ten hours a day, and the majority stand all the time, having

a chance to sit only in the noon-hours. This brings a characteristic lameness in the girls during the first year at the mill."

The report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the State places the average daily wages of children between the ages of thirteen and sixteen employed in the manufacture of underwear at forty-seven cents, in hosiery at forty-six cents.

The children of the Coal Shadow submit uncomplainingly to a habitual treatment which in a country like China would be considered cruel and intolerable.

The Children of the Coal Shadow have no child life. The little tots are sullen, the older children fight; they rarely play, and almost their only amusement is the union and the strike. That is the logical result of the condition of their existence. *They have no friends. Their parents,* driven by what they think is necessity, *forswear them into bondage.* Their employers, compelled by what they regard as economic forces, *grind them to hatred.* The State, ruled by influence, either refrains from ameliorating laws or enforcement. The rest of the world does not care.

In the iron and steel industry the census of 1880 shows an increase of boys from 2,400 in 1870 to 7,700 in 1880, an increase of 216 per cent, as compared with an increase of seventy-eight per cent of employes over sixteen years of age.

The following extract from the Second Annual Report of the New York Inspector of Factories and Workshops (1884, p. 14) is very interesting:

"Large numbers of children have been examined in all our manufacturing districts. Almost

all the children examined were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. The average age at which the children went to work was nine years. All of them had been accustomed to work ten hours a day, and many of them thirteen and more hours a day through overtime. The general appearance of those children is noteworthy. Children, who had been set to work at an early age, were, as a rule, delicate, puny and ignorant; they know the least, having forgotten the little they had been taught before going to work. Children of thirteen years, with little old faces, said they did not care for school or play." The same report on page 18 states:

"At least thirty per cent could not name the city in which they lived. Sixty per cent had never heard of the United States or Europe, and ninety-five per cent had never heard of the Revolutionary War. Many who had heard of the United States could not say where they were." These conditions did not change materially in the last years, as can be concluded from articles like "Child Life vs. Dividends," in the American Federationist for May, 1902, by Irene Asly-Macfadyen. The wages of children sacrificed on the Altar of Mammon are ridiculously small. In 1897 the factory inspectors found 9,259 children employed in different industrial establishments. In 1901 the factory inspectors found 19,939 children at work, as shown in their reports. The increase was greater in 1901 than in any previous year, being 5,583 children.

Illinois permits children to work who cannot read in any language, who have never attended any school. There is no educational test before beginning to work. All the training required by

children in the labor market is in the direction of mechanical and brainless routine. The factory child can develop no individuality, and promises, in coming maturity, to be little more than an addition to the mass of wretched, unskilled labor.

Moreover, many occupations threaten actual disability by mutilation and disease. In the manufacture of cigars, both girls and boys are employed, and the saturation of the children with nicotine is only a question of time. So it is in other respects in other unhealthy industries. Of the garment workers it is true now as in 1894 that "many of the boys in the sweatshops are button-holers and every little button-holer is destined soonor or later to develop curvature of the spine. Other boys run foot power machines, and the fate that awaits them is consumption of the lungs or intestines. Many of the little girls are "hand girls," whose backs grow crooked over their work of hemming and felling or sewing on buttons.

In the stamping industry children are often mutilated. Work in the laundries entails exhaustion from heat and dampness, and long, irregular hours of work. The proportion of blind or partly blind children in glass blowing communities is unusually large. Finally, the children work in the excessive heat of ovens through the night and go half clad, weary and hungry, out into the dawn of the early winter morning.

Illinois permits her children to work at night, and they do work all night long in many industries in which men and children are needed and where night work is carried on either regularly or occasionally.

And what is the pittance? At a liberal esti-

mate it would average in Chicago $2.50 per week, from which must be deducted sixty cents for car fare. (See pamphlet on child labor in Illinois by the local Federation of Women's Club, 1902-1903, pp. 6-11.)

The condition of working children in New York is about as bad as those in Chicago and Illinois, as can be readily proved by extracts from the pamphlet "Child Labor," published by the Child Labor Committee.

This century of legal endeavor has fallen far short of guaranteeing to poor children the rights of childhood—the chance to be happy, the chance to develop strong minds and strong bodies—the chance to grow into well-rounded men and women, able to hold their own in life.

Children of thirteen and twelve, and even fewer years, are at work despite the most faithful efforts of the factory inspectors. Children are at work for inhumanely long hours during the weeks preceding the holiday season.

Children are regularly employed for long hours before and after school. A great number of child-workers, newsboys, bootblacks, street peddlers, office boys, delivery boys, messenger boys, are absolutely without any legal protection whatever.

A few typical cases, no worse than hundreds of others which have been investigated by the Child Labor Committee, will give an idea of the hours, of the wages and the conditions of work of these little under-age laborers.

Peter Basto is regularly employed in a button factory to sew buttons on cards. He has his (legal age) certificate, though he is but thirteen years old and though he is only four feet in

height and conspicuously undeveloped. He works six days in the week from seven-thirty in the morning until seven o'clock at night, with an intermission of half an hour at noon. In return for his sixty-six hours of work each week he receives a wage of two dollars and a half. Thirteen-year-old Jennie Chianti had to say she was fourteen "to get her certificate," according to the statement of her sister and her friend. Every day except Sunday she works from eight in the morning to six in the evening in a factory where she helps trim dresses for other children. Her weekly wage is two dollars and a half. As trimming is not a lucrative occupation, on Sundays and in the evenings she makes artificial flowers for a near-by manufacturer.

Milly Agricola and Mary Pelota both work in a leggin factory from seven-thirty in the morning until six in the evening, with half an hour for luncheon. Each is thirteen years old and each receives two dollars per week.

According to her employment certificate, Angeline Peratti is fifteen years old, but her actual age is twelve. She works in an artificial flower factory from seven-thirty in the morning until six in the evening. In the evenings she helps her mother and younger sister make artificial flowers at home. She is in a pitiful physical condition, being subject to epileptic fits and being troubled with a weak heart. In all her life she attended school just one short month.

Public School No. 180 in New York City furnishes an illustration of the results that follow the employment of children during vacation. Out of the ninety boys who were in this school when it closed in June, 1902, nineteen, or over twenty

per cent, went to work and did not return in September. Of the nineteen, eight were not fourteen when they began work, and eleven were between fourteen and fifteen. None of them were more than two years in school.

The case of fourteen-year-old Lena Schwartz is typical of a great number of children, whose condition is even worse than that of the average of the child laborers. During the busy season she dips candy five days of the week from seven in the morning until nine at night, and on the other day from eight till nine, with thirty minutes for luncheon and fifteen minutes for supper. Her aggregate number of hours for the week during the busy season is seventy-eight and one-half. She has weak eyes, the result of previously working late into the night upon artificial flowers, and round shoulders and a hollow chest, largely due to the exhausting character of her present occupation.

Newsboys, bootblacks, peddlers, office boys, delivery boys, messenger boys—these can work as long hours as they or their employers choose, and all day and night in cases—they can be set at work at any age that suits their parents.

Boys eight and nine years have been found working for delivery companies.

Last fall twenty-five boys in the employ of one of the delivery companies went out on a strike. Several of these boys were under fourteen—the leader was thirteen. They said they worked four days in the week from seven-thirty in the morning until nine or ten at night and on Fridays and Saturdays until midnight or until one o'clock in the morning. If the packages were not delivered on Saturday night they worked Sundays until

they were delivered. Visits were made to the homes of these boys and their parents and former teachers were questioned. In all essential particulars the stories of the boys were substantiated.

During the holiday season there is practically no limit to the number of hours that may be demanded of the boys working as messengers. The present investigation has discovered cases of messengers being on duty continuously for twenty, thirty, thirty-two, forty and even seventy-two hours. The only rest during these long periods were snatches of sleep taken between messages on the wooden benches in the office. Some of these boys were only fourteen, and several were even younger.

Such is their "start in life"—messenger boy, delivery boy, after-school worker, factory child. With such a start, such a present, what can their future be?

The children of the toiling masses are kept out of school in order to be sacrificed to the Molloch of profit-making Capitalism. Child labor and starvation wages condition each other.

We take the liberty to quote here from our book, "The Passing of Capitalism":

According to Dr. Folkmar, of all the children in Chicago and Milwaukee that enter the public school, (1) about one-third go no further than the first grade; (2) about one-half go no further than the second grade; (3) about two-thirds go no further than the third grade; (4) about three-fourths go no further than the fourth grade; (5) about nine-tenths go only half way through the twelve grades; (6) about ninety-seven in every hundred drop out before reaching the high school; (7) only three in every thousand finish

the entire course. Or more exactly, the following per cent drops out of each grade: Grade I, 32 per cent; II, 51 per cent; III, 66 per cent; IV, 78 per cent; V, 86 per cent; VII, 95 per cent; VIII, 97 per cent; IX, 98 per cent; X, 99 per cent; XI, 99.7 per cent.

Ex-superintendent C. L. T. Smart of the State of Ohio states that only about 3 per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools ever enter, and from them less than 1 per cent graduate; 50 per cent of the youths enrolled in the public schools of the State do not attend school more than four years; 75 per cent stop attending school before entering the eighth grade. Dr. Wm. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, says in his report to the Committee of Fifteen: "The average number of pupils of the St. Louis school in the lowest three years of the course was about 72 per cent of the entire number enrolled. Nearly three-fourths of all the pupils of the public schools are in the studies of the first three years or in primary studies. Six-sevenths of the population of the United States, on arriving at the proper age for the secondary education, never receive it. Thirty out of thirty-one fail to receive higher education upon arriving at the proper age. The question now arises: What is the main cause of this remarkably short duration of school attendance? Mr. C. L. Smart says: *"A majority of the patrons of the public schools cannot do without the labor of their children,* and therefore cannot give them time to attend school longer." Dr. D. Folkman says: "I answer without hesitation that the chief factors are economic conditions. Too many either cannot support their children as they desire, or cannot

spare them through a longer period of schooling."

UNITED STATES CENSUS 1900.

(Population, Vol. II, Part II, Table 65, p. 422.)
Illiterate Children Between the Ages of 10 and 14 Years in Each State.

Alabama	66,072
Alaska	1,903
Arizona	2,592
Arkansas	26,972
California	1,279
Colorado	742
Connecticut	436
Delaware	845
District of Columbia	398
Florida	8,389
Georgia	63,329
Hawaii	394
Idaho	209
Illinois	4,044
Indiana	1,453
Indian Territory	12,172
Iowa	883
Kansas	878
Kentucky	21,247
Louisiana	55,691
Maine	1,255
Maryland	5,859
Massachusetts	1,547
Michigan	1,744
Minnesota	1,365
Mississippi	44,334
Missouri	11,660
Montana	374
Nebraska	412
Nevada	275
New Hampshire	557
New Jersey	2,069
New Mexico	4,354
New York	4,740
North Carolina	51,190

1.	Wyoming	72
2.	Oregon	175
3.	Idaho	209
4.	Utah	220
5.	Nevada	275
6.	Vermont	287
7.	Washington	340
8.	Montana	374
9.	Hawaii	394
10.	District of Columbia	398
11.	Nebraska	412
12.	Connecticut	436
13.	*South Dakota*	472
14.	New Hampshire	557
15.	Rhode Island	691
16.	Colorado	742
17.	North Dakota	836
18.	Delaware	845
19.	Kansas	878
20.	Iowa	883
21.	Maine	1,255
22.	California	1,279
23.	Oklahoma	1,295
24.	Minnesota	1,365
25.	Indiana	1,453
26.	*Massachusetts*	1,547
27.	Wisconsin	1,688
28.	Michigan	1,744
29.	Alaska	1,903
30.	*Ohio*	2,048
31.	*New Jersey*	2,069
32.	Arizona	2,592
33.	*Illinois*	4.044
34.	New Mexico	4,354
35.	*New York*	4,740

North Dakota	836	36.	West Virginia.	5,819	
Ohio	2,048	37.	Maryland	5,859	
Oklahoma	1,295	38.	*Pennsylvania* ..	6,326	
Oregon	175	39.	*Florida*	8,389	
Pennsylvania	6,326	40.	Missouri	11,660	
Rhode Island	691	41.	Indian Territory	12,172	
South Carolina	51,536	42.	Kentucky	21,247	
South Dakota	472	43.	Arkansas	26,972	
Tennessee	36,375	44.	Virginia	34,612	
Texas	35,491	45.	Texas	35,491	
Utah	220	46.	Tennessee	36,375	
Vermont	287	47.	Mississippi	44,334	
Virginia	287	48.	North Carolina.	51,190	
Washington	340	49.	South Carolina.	51,536	
West Virginia	5,819	50.	Louisiana	55,691	
Wisconsin	1,688	51.	Georgia	63,329	
Wyoming	72	52.	Alabama	66,072	
United States...	579,947		The United States.	579,947	

The column at the left is exactly as taken from the census. The column at the right is the same material arranged with the States in the order of the illiteracy of the children, those States which have the least number of illiterate children appearing at the top of the column and those having the largest number of illiterate children appearing at the bottom.

Commenting on these figures, the Fourth Annual Report of the National Consumers League states as follows:

"A significant point in the table is the appearance, in the topmost group, of the States of the agricultural Northwest where manufacture and commerce have not yet reached a high degree of development. In these States and in Connecticut, Vermont, the Hawaiian Islands and the District of Columbia, the number of illiterate children between ten and fourteen years of age now reached

five hundred. Particularly interesting is the fact that Wyoming, which heads the list with only seventy-two illiterate children, has long maintained traveling teachers to instruct children on remote ranches.

Another significant point in the table is the appearance in the third group, nearer the bottom of the scale of the States than the top, of all the six great manufacturing States, with the exception of Massachusetts. When graded according to the value of their manufactured products, these States rank in the following order: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio and New Jersey. But when graded according to the numbers of their illiterate children between the ages of ten and fourteen years, they rank as follows:

26.	Massachusetts	1,547
30.	Ohio	2,048
31.	New Jersey	2,069
33.	Illinois	4,044
35.	New York	4,740
38.	Pennsylvania	6,326
	Total	20,770"

At a congress of the State Federation of Labor of New Jersey, held in Trenton, a resolution was passed calling upon the Governor to remove the State factory inspector for failure to abolish child labor. The inspector was called before the congress and practically admitted that child labor existed in New Jersey, but that he was powerless to stop it.

There are several places in New Jersey where child slavery, in one form or another, exists, but nowhere is the law so flagrantly violated as in

Patterson. There the little white slaves endure an existence that is as hopeless and as dismal as that of any child in the coal breakers or knitting mills of Pennsylvania.

There is a constant disposition on the part of the mill owners to supplant the labor of men and adult women with young girls and with children. Women in Patterson are paid from seven to ten dollars a week. This is considerably less than is paid to men; but children can be hired for less than either. And so the child came to be a factor in the mill life of Patterson.

In one factory not one more than a quarter of the employes were men, the rest were all women and girls, and of the latter fully one hundred did not seem to be over eleven years of age.

"There are three flax mills in Patterson that give employment to about two thousand hands. According to factory reports, only one hundred of these are less than sixteen years old. Near the flax mills is the tenement quarter of Patterson. Few of the families have more than two rooms and many of them possess only one. In the evenings and on Sundays the neighborhood swarms with children, but from seven o'clock in the morning until six in the evening on every week day the noise of their laughter and play is not heard in this part of Patterson. With care-worn, pale faces the children form a sort of a melancholy procession which 'comes home' from the mill at evening. Some of them may be fourteen years old. If they are they have already lived four or five years in the factory. But by far the greater number are certainly not over eleven.

"From the lips of men and women whose lives

are spent behind the dull brick walls of the factories the following is known about the work of the children there:

"Part of the process of weaving flax consists in hemp steaming. In a room with a stone and cement floor the coils of flax are wrung out in hot water to make it pliable for weaving. This work is performed entirely by females, many of whom are little girls. With bare feet and covered with rubber aprons they spend what should be the happy days of childhood in a room filled with clouds of steam, twisting the wet hemp coils.

"The pay of the little girls in either a silk or hemp factory is about the same. When a girl enters the mill she receives about $1.25 a week. In the course of two or three years her pay is gradually increased until by the time she is fifteen years old she makes perhaps $2.50 or $3.00 a week. This sum constitutes her wages for several years, until she is old and experienced enough to 'learn the trade' of a weaver. In the flax mills her remuneration for the work is very rarely more than $8.00 a week; in the silk mills it is sometimes as high as $12.00.

"In certain districts of the city there are no longer any little girls, there are only middle aged women, and women too old to work. And yet it would be a cruelty and injustice to lay the blame for the child labor evil at the door of the parents. Among the adult workers in the flax mills it is very exceptional to find one who makes more than $8.00 a week. This is not enough to support a family. The only recourse for parents is to send their little girls to the mill." (Francis H. Nickols in the *Christian Herald,* September 3, 1903.)

PENNSYLVANIA CHILD LABOR.

(Special correspondence of the *Evening Post.*)

"Scranton, Pa., February 10, 1903.—The crusade against child labor began with the introduction of a group of silk-mill children as witnesses before the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, then sitting at Scranton, Pa. Undreamed-of conditions were laid bare; public indignation rose to white heat; press and pulpit joined in giving publicity to the facts, and from many quarters came demands for immediate legislation which would do away with at least the grosser evils. The United Mine Workers and the anthracite coal operators joined in preparing a bill for Pennsylvania.

The story of this campaign in Pennsylvania is full of interest. "We actually find the flesh and blood of little girls coined into money," exclaimed Judge Grey, as the children stood before the Commission. "This matter of night labor by young girls," he continued, "should be made known in every part of Pennsylvania." This work has been done. It only remains for the legislators to make good the laws which have this week been sent to them.

To-day efforts to rescue little children from sodden toil which robs them of their childhood and does violence to the unborn children of other generations are met with open threats. When the cry was first raised against the iniquitous regime in Pennsylvania, the superintendent of one large

mill publicly asserted: "One thing is certain—tinkering with existing conditions will drive the silk mills out of Pennsylvania to States where labor conditions are satisfactory. As matters stand, Pennsylvania has a lower age limit than any of her neighbors, and that fact is responsible for much of the prosperity of the State. If the age limit be raised, even though the raise be only one year, the factories will go elsewhere."

There have been breathless moments at the hearings of the Strike Commission, but none so intense as when eleven-year-old Helen Sisscak and Theresa McDermott and Rosa Zinka sat in the witness chair and told the story of their lives. Every one of the seven Commissioners rose to his feet and strained towards the children. The crowded courtroom became as still as a summer night; not a dress rustled, not a foot scraped; the childish voices were heard in every corner. Chairman Grey asked most of the questions. The children spoke simply and frankly, as children will, much puzzled as to why so many people were interested in them. They did not know that seventeen thousand little girls under sixteen years of age who toil in the great silk mills and lace factories of central Pennsylvania were speaking through them. When they told of leaving their homes to report at the factory at half-past six, and of spending the long hours of the night until half-past six in the morning, when, tired and half asleep, they dragged back across the fields or through the streets of the scattered town to their beds, they did not realize that their words meant the emancipation of nearly four thousand child workers from night labor.

Since then I have visited the homes of these

children and many others besides. Some of the little toilers get five cents an hour, others three, for the work.

"Why do you allow your little child to do this?" I asked of one father.

He glared at me a moment, then answered laconically:

"It means bread money."

The man was a miner. I put the same question to the mother of another.

She answered never a word, but handed me her store book.

It needed only a cursory examination to see that there were few extravagances in that household. Then, as I glanced round the bare kitchen and through a doorway into the bedroom beyond, further questioning would have seemed mockery. The house was old and unpainted. The homes of these girls are often two and three miles from the mills, and children are obliged to walk in all kinds of weather. A number of children were found who allow an hour to reach the mill. Twelve hours of work and two hours walking would leave a strong man but little energy.

CONDITIONS IN THE FACTORIES.

The first of the silk factories that I saw was near Scranton. It was built near the Susquehanna River, on a knoll of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In the clear atmosphere of a dark night its blaze of lighted windows shone like an acre of the starry heavens brought low and thrown before the shadowy mountains. When the heavy door had been opened to my call and closed again behind me, the clatter and din were deafening.

A hazel-eyed child in a dirty red waist flitted past me. I stopped her to ask her age.

"Eleven past," she replied.

"How long have you worked in the mill?"

"A year past," she answered promptly and went on.

A small boy was cleaning bobbins close to the nearest rattling loom. He told me he was fourteen. I should have guessed eleven. He had been three years in the mill. A surprised feature of this work is that the shifts are not alternated. The day-shift children are always on the day-shift, and the night-shift ones are always on the night-shift. The work is not heavy. It is as continuous as machine work. Constant vigilance is necessary. The fine silk fibers snap easily and must be quickly tied.

"The tangles are always worst when I am tiredest," said one small girl. "I have to twist back the reel for a long time until all the tangles are gone. The big girl who had charge of our department often scolded me, and sometimes the man who was night superintendent told me he would discharge me if I couldn't do better. Then my head would ache something awful, and I would have to cry, and some other girl would straighten out the tangle."

Another, who had just been taken out of the mill, said to a friend of mine who made a note of her words: "When I first went to work at night the long standing hurt me very much. My feet burned so that I cried. My knees hurt me worse than my feet, and my back pained all the time. Mother cried when I told her how I suffered, and that made me feel so badly that I did not tell her any more. It does not hurt so much

now, but I feel tired all the time. I do not feel near as tired, though, as I did the time I worked all night. My eyes hurt me, too, from watching the threads at night. The doctor said they would be ruined if I did not stop the night work. After watching the threads a long time, I could see threads everywhere. When I looked at other things, there were threads running across them. Sometimes I felt as though the threads were cutting my eyes."

All physical ailments are naturally found among these children, especially nervous diseases, brought on through enforced wakefulness and the unnatural system of life. Throat and lung troubles are frequent, and anaemia is as common as is miner's asthma among the miners. Heart affections and stomach disorders are common. The tendency is always to devitalize the children, stunting their growth, and so weaken their powers of resistance as to leave them easy prey for disease of every order.

But this is not the saddest feature of night labor. There are phases to this question too terrible to describe. In the warm months of spring, summer and autumn, during the half hour in the middle of the night which is allowed for refreshments, the children are encouraged to leave the factory and spend the time in the outside air. In most instances the silk mills and lace factories of Pennsylvania are somewhat isolated from the villages and towns. They occupy lonely sites on the edge of the mountains or near river banks. The children leave the heated atmosphere of the factory rooms and run among the trees or across the fields. One or two men are supposed to watch over them, but under cover of the night

their vision is short. Those who should know, the police, justices of the peace, and investigators, say that immoral loafers and strange men lurk around these mills. In every factory there are girls who are older whose influence is not the best.

NIGHT WORK.

According to the State factory inspector, there are something over 17,000 girls between the ages of thirteen and sixteen who work in manufacturing establishments of the State. Of this number approximately 4,000 work all night in the textile mills, and it was estimated at the beginning of this investigation that nearly fifty per cent of these are under thirteen years of age. A prominent Scranton lawyer is responsible for the statement that "more than one-half of the children who work all night in the textile mills are under the statutory age. Fully 75 per cent of all the girls who do night work are under fifteen years." The legal age in Pennsylvania is thirteen, but, as Judge Gray took occasion to remark, some of the State laws are but dead letters in the anthracite regions. In one week following the disclosures before the Commission over two hundred children were removed by a single inspector.

Child labor seems to be largely in demand. Prosperity means an increased market for silk and laces. "Girls wanted" is found on signs tacked to the factory doors. This tends to make the employers careless in scrutinizing the age certificates. Every child has to produce a certificate which purports to show that she is at least thirteen years old. If the parent, or even the

child herself, makes out this certificate it covers the letter of the law and relieves the responsible ones of legal responsibility.

The root of the question lies in the incentive which prompts a misstatement. The first cause is poverty.

There are about seventeen hundred and fifty thousand children between the ages of ten and fifteen years employed in the mines and factories of the United States, according to Mr. Waudby.

"The alarming rapidity of the increase of this traffic in human flesh and blood has been so insidious as to have, like the rising tide of the sea, engulfed us before we discovered it. Child labor of the past and child labor of the present are two different problems. In the first instance the child was not considered as a 'wage earner,' but was sent into the mills, the mines and the factories, *for the purpose of learning a trade.* Now-a-days he is sent into these hives of industry to become an integral part of a machine and as such is looked upon with no personal regard whatever. His employer has no interest in his welfare beyond what his productive capacity will bring forth. The factories, the mines, the work shop and the great mercantile establishments of our country teem with the labor of children. The report of the census office for the year 1900, when issued, will show that for the mainland of the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, there were, approximately, one million seven hundred fifty thousand persons from ten to fifteen *years of age,* inclusive, reported as engaged in gainful occupations.

Hundreds of thousands of little children are being defrauded of their American heritage—the

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right to a liberal education—by being compelled to work in the mills, the mines and the work shops, thus being stunted in body as well as in mind!

Accidents to the boy mine workers, who claim about eight cents an hour, are of daily occurrence, and many of them are of a fatal nature.

At Scranton, last November, Charles Bieberich, a fourteen-year-old boy, was killed in the Gibbon breaker, and, before the machinery could be stopped, the body was horribly mangled.

In the cotton and woolen mills of North Carolina 3,857 boys and 4,139 girls under fourteen years of age work from ten to over twelve hours per day.

Over a thousand children between the ages of six and fourteen are employed in fine cotton mills which stand within a mile of the State Capitol of South Carolina.

More than a thousand children are kept at work in the coal cellars of New York." (William S. Waudby, Special Agent U. S. Department of Labor, in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* for April, 1903.)

Child labor in the textile mills in the South is reduplicated not only in other industries in the South, but in the Middle States, and in more than one Northern State, notwithstanding many years of child labor legislation.

Child labor in the North is employed to a very much greater extent than in the South. Besides the thirteen thousand children under sixteen employed in the factories of New York, there are thousands in the stores, thousands on the streets, and other thousands scattered throughout the offices of the city. Child labor has assumed

stupendous proportions. Children are deformed, maimed, weakened, and made diseased for life in many of the trades flourishing in every industrial community. In the Minnesota Bureau of Labor, for instance, the statistics show that the accidents among children are many times more common than those among adults. (Wm. English Walling, in the *Eltical Record* for January, 1903.)

We will conclude with Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "Cry of the Children":

"Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers?
 They are weeping bitterly.
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
 In the country of the free.
They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
 And their looks are sad to see,
For the man's hoary anguish draws and presses
 Down the cheeks of infancy—
'Your old earth,' they say, 'is very dreary';
 'Our young feet,' they say, 'are very weak,'
For, 'oh,' say the children, 'we are weary,
 And we cannot run and leap.'
For all day the wheels are droning, turning,
 Their wind comes in our faces,
Till our hearts turn, our heads with pulses burning,
 And the walls turn in their places—
Turns the sky in the high window blank and reeling,
 Turns the long light that drops adown the wall,
Turns the black flies that crawl along the ceiling,
 All are turning, all the day, and we with all.
All the day the iron wheels are droning,
 And sometimes we could play
'Oh, ye wheels' (breaking out in a mad moaning),
 'Stop! Be silent for the day!'
'Ay! be silent! Let them hear each other breathing
 For a moment, mouth to mouth;
Let them touch each other's hands, in a fresh wreathing
 Their tender human youth.
Let them feel that this cold metallic motion
 Is not all the life God fashions or reveals;

Let them prone their living souls against the notion
That they live in you or under you, O wheels!'
Still all day the iron wheels go onward,
Grinding life down from its mark;
And the children's souls, which God is calling sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark."

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The philosophy of life of our mercantile civilization was aptly summarized by Carlyle in the following words:

"Scramble along thou insane scramble of the world, thou art all right and shall scramble even so on. And who ever in the press is trodden down has only to lie there and be trampled broad. Ours is a world requiring only to be well let alone." We justify this "scramble of the world" by all kind of more or less euphonious but meaningless phrases about "the survival of the fittest" and other pseudo-scientific individualistic maxims. We are not satisfied with "trampling broad" those of our brothers and sisters in humanity who happen to be weaker than we are economically, but we add insult to injury by labeling them as "unfit to survive." As a matter of fact, however, it is not the parasitic minority who trample down who survive, but just the reverse. The proletariat, in spite of its being trodden down "and trampled broad," survives and justifies its name, while the idle rich die out. The so-called "law of the survival of the fittest" is the weakest point in the Darwinian philosophy, and, if applied to demography, proves to be merely a paraphrase of the long-ago exploded theory of Malthus. The very idea of an over-populization of America seems preposterous. As, however, Malthusian views are still surviving in the minds of

the uncritical multitude a few words about them may be not out of place in this treatise. We will quote here such authorities on the subject as Nitti and Loria.

Malthus' law explains nothing just as it comprehends nothing. Bound by rigid formulas which are belied by history and demography, it is incapable of explaining not only the mystery of poverty, but the alternate reverses of human civilization. Statistical examinations show that the birth rate scarcely ever goes below 20 births for 100 inhabitants, and scarcely ever beyond 50. But all the oscillations which occur between 20 and 50 are but necessary results not of a biological fatal law, but of economic and social laws, which vary with the change of civilization and of economic constitution. (F. S. Nitti, Population and Social System, p. 114.)

When the earth ceases to be free, the new (born) members of the population depend for their subsistence upon the good-will of the Capitalist class, that is to say, upon the increase of profit, which it consents to distribute, under the form of food, among other classes. But until profit is raised, these increases of profit, which are spent in food, are sufficient to maintain the new members of the population, but must be divided into two parts, one of which keeps the worker, the other the *mendicants,* since these last *are necessary to capital, in order to guarantee the continuance of the minimum salary and of* (*maximum*) *profit.* Hence, *there is formed a systematic excess of population not over food, but over capital* (p. 133, Loria). This is practically a re-statement of K. Marx's assertion, *that upon every Capitalistic organization weighs the neces-*

sity, at the risk of its *peril, of producing artificially a systematic excess of population.* (Das Kapital, p. 645 and following.)

The intrinsic cause which drove the capitalist class to originate by every means and every expedient the rapid and abundant birth-rate of the wage-earning classes is simply the necessity of securing the persistence of profit. Indeed, we see that when wages are about the minimum and the persistence of profit is endangered, the capitalist class devises every means, and tries every way to impel the wage-earners to a great fecundity. (Loria, Vol. I, pp. 615-693, and Vol. II, pp. 380-416.)

They (the capitalists) leave nothing untried—advice, influence by inducement, and even corruption of manners are resorted to. And that which finally drives the wage-earner to this is the utter impossibility of a provident life and the need of finding in the work of women and children a margin to compensate for the decrease of the wages of adults. (Nitti, Population, etc., pp. 134-135.)

When the permanence of profit is menaced by the slight proportion between births and deaths, the capitalist class restricts the demand for work and occasions pauperism, and hence the abundant and disordered birth rate, which is its fatal consequence (loco citato, p. 135). In England, as in every industrial country, the wages of women and children supplemented insufficient wages of the adult. Then the laboring classes, compelled by necessity, abandoned the prudent foresight, which it had maintained centuries, and multiplied itself without bounds. But when the laws forbid child labor which menaces the decay of the race,

the employers have already attained their end, the reduction of the wages of the adult. (p. 137.)

The birth rate is determined by the economic form. In a country where the irregularity of distribution of wealth is very great, and there exists a large class of wage earners, the birth rate tends to be disordered and abundant. On the contrary, in a country where social (national) wealth is greatly subdivided (as in France) and the number of small possessors large, the birth rate tends to be slight. (p. 139.)

When wages tend to increase and the workers have a chance and even sometimes the hope of ease, the capitalist class, seeing itself menaced, tends to change a great part of capital from productive into unproductive. And thus it originates and grows an entire parasitical class whose only function is to crystallize wages and secure the permanence of profit. (p. 140.)

The worker of the day is led by two motives to an improvident fecundity. On the one hand, he very soon arrives at the ultimate limit of aspirations, the apex of his career, hence every effort of ulterior improvement, and, indeed, every idea of foresight is completely thrown aside, while on the other hand, the possibility of employing children in factories leads to the idea of increasing the income of his family by increasing the number of his family. (Le Population, Loria, p. 74.)

A great birth rate always answers to a great depression of the working classes, to smallness of wages, to a bad distribution of wealth. (Nitti, p.159.) The great merit of K. Marx—a merit allowed him even by his great opposer, Lujo

Brentano—consists in having shown the falsity of the thesis, according to which, wages are considered dependent upon the excess existing in single industries. (p. 160.)

The fact is that the severest poverty has almost always occurred in countries and at times when the means of subsistence sufficed for the population, and even far exceeded it. (p. 165.)

In the United States of America capital often restricts the demand for labor and produces in the greatest period of the development of the public wealth, a decrease of wages, the multiplicity of men without work, and pauperism. (Loria loco citato.)

Nitti states the new demographic law as follows:

Given the constitution of modern society, the economic situation does not depend upon the increase of the population but, on the contrary, not only the number of those who live, but even *the number of those who are born, depend upon the economic situation.*

Every improvement of the condition, every diffusion of wealth, every increase of wages, and of the standard of living, exercises a useful influence on the birth rate.

Hence, nothing is more certain to fix limits to the birth rate than high wages and diffusion of ease. (p. 162.)

As in animal struggle for existence parasitical species are deeply injured by the decrease of the species upon which they prey and subsist—the parasitical classes of human society are injured by a decreased birth rate in the productive classes.

All the talk about over-population as a cause

of poverty of the proletariat is not only a perversion of truth, but a malicious falsehood coming with ill grace from those who are directly profiting from the same artificial over-population and do all they can to produce it. It is contemptible cant.

Another alleged cause of poverty is insufficient production of commodities. This represents another paraphrase of Malthusianism.

In order to do full justice to the analysis of this alleged cause we have to review the industrial evolution of the United States. Such a review was published by a high authority on the subject in question, the United States Commissioner of Labor, Carrol D. Wright; and we will follow his exposition in our investigation as far as statistical data are concerned.

THE INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Among the first European settlers of North America the simple production of useful articles (commodities) prevailed. The producers worked independently from each other at their own homes with their own tools and raw materials. The product of labor constituted the individual property of each producer. Social-economic relations in the colonies were, however, too complex to allow the direct exchange of commodities between various producers. The commodities were disposed of on the open market with the aid of a class of middlemen, who appropriated the lion's share of the product in the shape of profit. Only two distinct forms of accumulated wealth, the merchants' and money lenders' capital, was handed down by the middle ages. The feudal system in the country and the guilds in the towns of England hindered the mediaeval capital from turning into industrial capital. The American colonists naturally followed the conditions and circumstances of the mother country. Individual production could not, however, satisfy the economic needs of the growing colonies for a long period of time. The stringent legislation of the English government, putting an export duty on woolen broadcloth and prohibiting the exportation of sheep, wool and woolen yarn from England, stimulated the colonists to the development of home manufacture of woolen goods. Many la-

borers were assembled in one workshop and under the personal direction of the employer produced goods, passing the article from hand to hand on its way to completion. A certain crude division of labor was essential to this stage of social production. And yet the handicraft, the personal skill of the highly trained laborers, made up the foundation of the manufacturing form of co-operation. The actual productive factors were men, not as yet the tools of production, machinery. The manufacturing period lasted approximately from 1656 to 1789, when the new constitution went into effect. As in the case of the manufacturing system, the narrowly-selfish policy of the English government stimulated the industrial development of North America. The mainsprings of the rapid abandonment of the manufacturing system in favor of the more perfect factory system of production were the successful applications of the principles of theoretical science to the actual problems and needs of production by such inventors as Hargreaves, Arkwright and Dr. Edward Cartwright.

We will have a chance to analyze the machine production later on more fully. At present it will suffice to state that one of the most characteristic features of the capitalistic or machine production consists in the divorce between the actual producer and his tools of production. The main factor in manufacturing production was the skilled laborer who worked with relatively crude tools. Under capitalistic production the main factor is the highly perfected tool of production—the machine. One of the necessary conditions for the appearance, growth and development of modern machine production is the existence of a *free*

laborer, who would sell his labor power, the sum total of his mental and physical faculties, for a definite time, for the purpose of producing useful articles. This free laborer has to be compelled by social economic conditions to sell the commodity called labor-power as a means of subsistence for him and his family. It is obvious that the existence of the institution of slavery in the Southern States made the growth and development of capitalistic production impossible. The economically advanced Northern States possessed a class of *free laborers* or proletarians, but they could not compete in the world's market with the *free labor* of slaves in the South. The movement for *the abolition of African slavery must be considered as a great labor movement,* it was a movement against *free* slave *labor* and in favor of a more advanced economic system. The Civil War was an industrial struggle between the belated agricultural South and the economically advanced North. The abolition of African slavery cleared the way for the rapid development of the machine production and turned the United States into the most typical capitalistic country of the world. The economical development of the United States since 1860 has no precedent in the history of humankind.

The United States census of the year 1860 reported the capital invested in mechanical and manufacturing industries as $1,009,855,715 and the products as $1,855,861,679. In 1890 the total capital invested in mechanical and manufacturing industries advanced to $6,525,156,456 and the value of the products to $9,372,437,283, an increase of 546 per cent in capital and 397 per cent in product. The per capita value of products for

1890 amounted to $149. If we add to the manufacturing the products of mining, agricultural products and fishery products we have a grand aggregate of $12,464,052,913 or $198 per capita. (Industrial Evolution in the United States, by Carrol D. Wright, 1895, pp. 159, 160.)

This marvelous development of the resources of the country finds its explanation in the advanced methods of machine-production as compared with hand-production.

The thirteenth annual report of the United States commissioner of labor presents some exceedingly valuable statistics on the subject. The report embraces all kinds of industries and is quite complete in itself. We rearranged the figures of the report for the sake of comprehensibility, so as to contain under one single heading all operations of manufacture, which were subjected to the same contraction in time in consequence of introduction of machinery as follows.

The time of production was shortened under machine labor comparatively with hand labor to about two-thirds in the manufacture of flower pots; three-fourths in the manufacture of pocket-books; one-half in the manufacture of neckties, brooms, collar and cuff boxes, flask cartons, shoe brushes, jars, clock cases, corks, scythes, designing (engraving), dried prunes, hammocks, kindling wood, labels, cup plungers (leather), kid leather, saddles, saws, soup tureens (silver), cups (tin), tobacco (chewing), shovels, awnings, flags, tents, and in the mining of bituminous coal; one-third in men's hats, sewer pipe, brick, buttons (vegetable ivory), divan frames, tops (carriages), sleighs, hatchets, mantles, engraving, boxes (suspender), wood cuts, diamond cuttings, chairs,

electrotyping, lockets (gold), faucets, sheet music, bread pans (tin), and sails; one-fourth in bags (other than paper), bookbinding, buttons (bone, brace), wagons, barrels, shotguns, bureaus (furniture), desks, pins (gold), ladders (wooden), marble (cutting), blinds, screens (window), sauce pans, wash basins (tin), screw drivers, chemises (woman's underwear), typewriting (copying), quarrying (granite); one-fifth in shoes (men's brogans), buggies, watch cases, shears, handkerchiefs, chair frames, bolts (iron), nuts (steel), cuff buttons, lasts, brown prints, milk pans (tin), cans (tin, tomato), chisels and spokes (wheel); one-sixth in rakes (steel), shoes (women's), boxes (tobacco), springs, hooks (brush), cleavers, lounges, chains (gold), granite (groving), netting, doors, harness, underskirts and window guards (springs); one-seventh in gold leaf (cutting), boxes (shoe), collars, brackets, teaspoons (silver), wire (gold), tables, mattresses (spring), rods (fishing), springs (furniture), measures (tin); one-eighth in shoes (men's calf), buttons (brass), carpets and boxes (pill); one-ninth in button molds, boots (men's pegged), boots (women's cheap), carpet (sewing), combs, rifle stocks and tips, sideboards, hats (women's), hair pins (silver), air chambers and float balls, tobacco (smoking), nail clippers, wheels and shirts; one-tenth in boxes (baking powder), files, rings (gold), marble urns and vases, posters and men's clothing; one-eleventh in gravel transportation; one-twelfth in rakes (wooden), boots (women's fine), rivets, type and butter; one-thirteenth in bags (paper), railroad tickets (printing), axles (carriage), washers, granite (dressing), hymn books (printing), shin-

gles and hammers; one-fourteenth in envelopes, bedsteads, coffee pots (tin), one-fifteenth in spring clips and spring hangers; one-sixteenth in seals, pitchforks, collar buttons, threading pipe, canning fruit, cigars, dash boards and iron pipe, wrought. And so on.

Machinery has lowered the cost of production, but the hand method of production is still extensive, though steadily going out of use. Some comparisons are made as follows: Ten plows, which cost $54.46 by hand labor, and which employed two men for 1,108 hours, cost when made by machinery $7.90, employing 52 men for a total of 37 hours 28 minutes. One hundred blank books cost, when made by hand, $219.79 and employed 3 men for 1,272 hours; they cost, when made by machinery, $69.97, employing 20 men for a total of 245 hours. Ruling 100 reams of paper cost, when done by hand, $400, and employed 1 person 4,800 hours; when done by machinery it cost 85 cents and employed 2 persons for 2 hours and 45 minutes.

The increase in the principal industries (textiles, clothing, lumber, iron and steel, leather, boots and shoes, flour and meal, sugar, pepper, printing and publishing, carriages and wagons, foundry and machine shop products, and liquors, distilled and malt), forming over 60 per cent of the total product for all industries.

The total capital invested in the several branches of the *textile manufacture* increased from $150,080,852 in 1860 to $739,973,661 in 1890, or 393 per cent, while the value of product increased from $214,740,614 to $721,949,252, or 236 per cent.

There were 1,091 establishments engaged in

the manufacture of cotton in 1860, with an average product of $106,033 and an average of 4,799 spindles per establishment during the same period.

In 1890 there were 905 establishments with an average product of $296,112 and an average of 15,677 spindles, an increase of 179 per cent in the product and of 227 per cent in the number of spindles per establishment. During the same period the aggregate capital invested in the industry increased from $98,585,269 to $354,020,843, or 259 per cent, and the value of product from $115,681,774 to $267,981,724, or 132 per cent.

The capital invested in the different branches of wool manufacture increased from $38,814,422 to $245,886,743, or 533 per cent, and the product from $73,454,000 to $270,527,511, or 268 per cent.

There were 213 establishments engaged in the manufacture of carpets in 1860 with a capital of $4,721,768 and a product valued at $7,857,636. In 1890 the capital increased to $38,208,842 and the product to $47,770,193, while the number of establishments decreased to 173. The total number of running yards of carpet in 1890 increased 90 per cent.

The total capital invested in silk manufacture in 1860 amounted only to $2,926,980 and the value of products to $6,607,771, being about 13 per cent of the entire consumption for that year. In 1890 the home factories produced 55 per cent of the total consumption, the product being valued at $87,298,454, while the capital invested in the industry had increased to $51,007,537.

There were 3,968 establishments reported in 1860 as engaged in the manufacture of women's and men's clothing, with a capital of $26,386,443

and a product of $80,758,344. The number of establishments had increased to 19,882, the capital to $203,812,466 and the value of product to $446,186,834 in 1890. There were 12,487 establishments reported in 1860 engaged in the production of footwear, with a capital of $23,358,527 and a product of $91,891,498. In 1889, 1,959 factories were reported with a capital of $42,994,028 and a product of $166,050,354, the total number of boots and shoes of all kinds manufactured during the year amounting to 125,478,511 pairs. In 1890 the capital invested in the industry amounted to $117,923,375 and a product of $280,215,185. The total number of boots and shoes increased in 1890 43 per cent over 1880.

According to the United States Census of 1860 there were 16,956 establishments, with a capital of $104,927,586 and a yearly product valued at $323,023,593, engaged in the manufacture of various forms of food product. The grand aggregate for 1890 was 41,608 establishments, with a capital of $524,669,429 and a product of $1,647,477,291. The annual product for each of the four principal branches of the industry, viz: bread, crackers and other bakery products, flour and grist mill products, slaughtering and meat packing, and sugar and molasses refining, exceeds $100,000,000. The manufacture of bakery products reported for 1860 amounted to $16,980,012 and for 1890 $128,621,535. The capital invested in the production of flour, meal and other products of the grist mill in the United States in 1860 amounted to $84,585,004 and the product to $248,580,365. In 1890 the capital was $208,473,500 and the product $513,971,474, being an in-

crease of 146 per cent in capital and 107 per cent in the value of the product.

In 1870 there was invested in the meat packing and slaughtering industry a capital of $22,124,787 and a product of $62,140,439. The capital increased to $116,887,504 and the product to $561,611,668.

The same increase applies to the manufacturing of cheese, butter, etc., etc. No branch of industry profited so much from the introduction of progressive methods as the iron and steel industry.

The capital invested and value of product increased from 1860 to 1890 from $48,372,897 to $414,044,844 and from $57,160,243 to $478,687,519, respectively. The value of products increased from $207,208,696 in 1870 to $296,557,685 in 1880, or 43 per cent, while the quality of products increased 99 per cent. During the ten years from 1880 to 1890 the value of products increased from $296,557,685 to $478,687,519, or 61 per cent, and the tons of products increased 151 per cent.

Quite instructive are the data about the petroleum industry in the United States. In 1880 86 establishments were reported with a capital of $27,325,746 and a product valued at $43,705,218. In 1889 the number of establisments had increased to 94, the capital to $77,416,296 and the value of product to $85,001,198.

The development of industry manifested itself likewise in the increase of capital invested and value of product in the manufacture of lumber, brick and tile and articles from gutta percha.

In conclusion we will mention the printing and publishing industry. In 1860 printing and pub-

lishing—including newspapers, periodicals, books and job printing—were reported by 1,666 establishments with a captial of $19,622,318 and a product of $31,063,898. In 1890 there were 16,566 establishments reported for the same industry with a capital of $195,387,445 and a product of $275,452,515.

The total production of the United States during the constitutional period, covering one hundred years of census taking, have been extended from twenty millions of dollars, as estimated for first census (1790), to $9,372,437,283 in 1890.

In the distribution of this vast product for 1890 among the States, the State of New York leads with a product of $1,711,577,671, while Pennsylvania is second in line. Then comes Illinois. (Ibidem, pp. 160, 188.)

The value of natural products can be stated in figures for the year 1889. In that year the farms gave $2,460,107,454 worth of products for the support of the people of the United States. The value of the products of all mining industries was $587,230,662, of the fisheries, $44,277,514; and of forests, $446,034,761. The total value of all these natural resources for the year 1889 was $3,537,650,391. The wealth of the country, including land, buildings, merchandise and all forms of real and personal property, in 1890 amounted to $65,037,091,197, of which amount $39,544,544,333 represents the value of real estate and improvements thereon, and $25,492,546 that of personal property, including railroads, mines and quarries.

In 1830 only 23 miles of railroads were operated in the United States, while in 1890 there were 163,597 miles, and in 1893 there were 173,-

433 miles. The population for each decennial census of the United States was as follows:

Census year.	Population.	Per cent increase.
1790	3,929,214	
1800	5,308,483	35.10
1810	7,239,881	36.38
1820	9,633,822	33.07
1830	12,866,020	33.55
1840	17,069,453	32.67
1850	23,191,876	35.87
1860	31,443,321	35.58
1870	38,558,371	22.63
1880	50,155,783	30.08
1890	62,622,250	

(pp. 13, 75.)

The influence of machinery on the producers consists in their displacement on one side, and opening for them new fields of activity on the other. In the manufacture of agricultural implements new machinery has, in the opinion of some of the best manufacturers of such implements, displaced full fifty per cent of the muscular labor formerly employed, as, for instance, hammers and dies have done away with the most particular labor on the plow. (p. 326.)

It would require from fifty to one hundred million persons in this country working under the old system to produce the goods made and the work performed by the workers of to-day with the aid of machinery. (p. 334.)

Ray Stannard Baker in his book "Our New Prosperity," published in 1900, draws a splendid picture of the national economic conditions in the United States.

"It was in 1898 that the United States exceeded Great Britain for the first time in the totals of her domestic export. In the following

year the foreign business of the United States passed for the first time in her history beyond two billion dollars, and her profits,—that is,—the excess of exports over imports, more than four hundred and seventy-six million dollars. In other words the United States in 1899 provided food, clothing and shelter, great quantities of foreign as well as domestic goods sufficient for comfortable and even luxurious living for her people, and sold abroad goods at the rate of a million and a half dollars in cash for every working day. All other great nations of the earth, except Russia, are heavy losers by their foreign business; they buy so much more than they sell; whereas the United States has made a profit since 1892 of over two billions of dollars." (p. 3.)

Eighteen ninety-nine will go down in commercial history as the notable year in which the United States may be said to have ceased being a debtor nation and became a creditor nation. This was a year of extraordinary records also in the domestic business of the United States, which has long been of greater volume by millions of dollars a year than that of any other nation.

The bank clearings, one of the surest indications of the volume of the country's business, were billions of dollars greater they ever were before in the history of the nation. In five years from 1894 to 1899 they more than doubled. From 1898 to 1899 they increased by 33 per cent, and 1898 was itself a remarkable year. The railroads never experienced such prosperity, the year 1899 showing the smallest number of receiverships with two exceptions since 1876 and larger earnings than ever before. Never was there such an expansion in the various manufacturing indus-

tries. Steel rails doubled in price between February and August; cotton became a profitable crop, copper made unprecedented raises. And never before was there so much money in circulation in the country, either in volume or in per capita distribution; and never before were the totals in the people's savings in the banks so enormous. It was also a year of extraordinary coal, gold, iron ore, lumber, copper and corn production, the year of the most profitable lake and coastwise steamer traffic since the civil war, and by all odds the greatest year of business and profits on the Stock Exchange. (pp. 4, 5, 6.)

Great increase in gold production.—M. L. Muhlman, United States Assistant Treasurer in New York, prepared an exceedingly valuable table comparing the stock of gold of all European banks of issue with the entire stock in the United States.

	Gold in the European Banks of issue.	Gold in the United States.
Jan. 1st, 1897	$1,591,000,000	$ 693,000,000
" " 1898	1,749,000,000	745,000,000
" " 1899	1,632,000,000	949,000,000
" " 1900	1,595,000,000	1,016,000,000

It will be seen from this table that while Europe gained only $4,000,000 between 1897 and 1900, and actually lost in the year 1899, the United States gained the enormous sum of $323,000,000, making the total stock of gold only one-third smaller than that of the combined banks of Europe. (pp. 28, 29.)

Advance in per capita circulation.—Back in 1860 if the money of the United States could have been divided up, giving an equal share to every man, woman and child in the country, there

would have been $13.85 for each. By 1880 this per capita share of the circulation was $19.41 and in 1890 it was $22.82. It rose to $24.28 in 1894. On February 1, 1900, it reached its climax of $25.98, the highest in the history of the nation. (pp. 29-31.) A glance at the number of commercial failures as recorded by Dun's Review, will show how they decreased from over 15,000 in 1893, with an enormous total of liabilities of nearly $347,000,000, to only 9,337 failures in 1899, with liabilities of less than $91,000,000. (p. 51.)

United States as a food producer.—It is estimated that we grow 80 per cent of the entire corn crop of the world and consume most of it at home. Of wheat, "the world's food," we are the greatest producers among the nations, surpassing our nearest rival, Russia, in 1898 by over 200,000,000 bushels. Our crops are over one-third of that of all Europe, and almost a quarter of that of the entire world. We have been exporting for several years past more wheat than is raised either in Hungary or Germany, and more than the total production of the continent of South America, including the vast fields of Argentine. Of oats, the United States raises more than any other country, and we also produce large quantities of barley and rye, although not as much as Europe produces.

In meat production our record is quite as satisfactory. We own about one-third of all the swine in the world. The value of pork exported in 1898 and 1899 amounted to $110,000,000 each year.

The United States is the greatest cattle raiser among the nations, the total number of head being now nearly 45,000,000, or between one-sixth

and one-seventh of the entire stock in the world. In the matter of mutton production we do not make as good a showing as in cattle raising, Australia, Russia, and Argentine exceeding us, but still we own about one-sixteenth of the world's sheep, more than enough to furnish us with all the mutton that we can use. Thus of the food staples, bread, meat, butter, milk, as well as vegetables and fruit, we are the most extensive producers, for we not only feed ourselves, but help to supply our neighbors.

As a clothing producer America is abundantly able to clothe her population without assistance from foreign nations.

In 1899 America's output of iron and steel products was about 40 per cent of the world's total.

In 1899 the United States took her place as the greatest coal producing country. Her output constitutes more than one-third of the world's supply, and it not only satisfies her own enormous requirements, but helps to supply the foreign market as well.

The annual output of petroleum amounts to 2,500,000 gallons or half of the total output of the world.

United States has the greatest mileage of railroads, the greatest amount of freight transported and the most extensive marine traffic.

In the matter of national debt the United States is less hampered than any other great nation, having a smaller national debt than even Italy or Spain." (pp. 246-253.)

The review of the economic growth and development of the United States indicates beyond the shadow of a doubt that inadequate production of

commodities, or insufficient national wealth, cannot be considered as causes of poverty. Poverty exists in the United States in spite of the growth of wealth of the entire nation unprecedented in the history of humanity. The striking contrast between the great wealth of the nation and the poverty of the toiling masses suggests to us that there must be something abnormal in the distribution of the national wealth among the classes on one side and the masses on the other, and that this inequality in the distribution of wealth may give us the key to the explanation of the causes of poverty.

We will first see what Carrol D. Wright has to say on the subject of the number of persons employed in the various branches of production and their wages. (See his "Industrial Evolution.")

"The number of men and women reported employed in 1850 was 957,059 or 4.13 per cent of the entire population. In 1860, 4.17 per cent; in 1870, 5.33 per cent; in 1880, 5.45 per cent; in 1890, 7.35 per cent of the entire population. If the percentage for 1890 is based on the population of fifteen years ago and over it will be found that those having mechanical or manufacturing occupations amount to 12.61 per cent of the total.

The total amount of wages for 1850 was reported as $236,755,464. In 1890 the number of wage earners is reported as 4,712,622 and the wages as $2,283,216,529; reducing the figures to a comparable basis, the figures show an increase of 347.88 per cent in numbers and 707.22 per cent in total wages over 1850. During the same period the average annual earnings per employee increased from $249.38 to $445.85, being an increase of 198.47 or 80.22 per cent.

The net value (i. e., the value remaining after deducting the cost of materials, the value added to the raw material by labor) is a very interesting indication of industrial development.

For all the industries in the United States the data show that in 1850 51 per cent of the net value was assigned to labor and in 1890 45 per cent. (p. 192.) In the thirty years from 1860 to 1890 the proportion of net products assigned to labor in the shoe manufacturing industry decreased from 63 to 53 per cent, the annual earnings increased to 447.44; the net product increased 171 per cent; and the capital required for one dollar of net product to eighty-eight cents.

The average number of men, women and children engaged in mechanical and manufacturing industries was 3,492,029, receiving $1,590,997,000 wages, the number being 74 per cent of the total wages. The men numbered 2,881,795, receiving $1,436,482,387 as wages. The women numbered 505,712, receiving $139,329,719 as wages; the children numbered 104,522, receiving $14,704,891 as wages. The annual average earnings for men was $498, for women $276 and for children $141. (p. 199.)

Indicated decimally the increase in average wages from 1860 has been from 82.5 in 1840 to 168.6 in 1890.

Of course the purchasing power of the wages and the change in the standard of living may have made this increase rather illusory.

Carrol D. Wright's exposition on that score does not seem to us conclusive. (p. 227.)

Carrol D. Wright's and other data of official statistics we quote below claim that prices declined to a level lower than in 1840, while the

wages increased to fabulous proportions. This seems to be far too optimistic. In the sixteenth annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor there are quotations of prices of commodities covering the period from 1752 to 1883 and a general comparison from 1830 to 1860. It appears that from 1830 to 1860 agricultural products advanced in price 62.8 per cent; burning oils and fluids, 29 per cent; candle and soap, 42.6 per cent; dairy products, 38.8 per cent; fish, 9.8 per cent; flour and meal, 26 per cent; fuel (wood), 54.4 per cent; meats, 53 per cent.

It is true that prices on manufactured goods—boots, shoes, clothing, dress goods and dry goods—correspondingly declined. The working men, however, use comparatively little of manufactured goods, while they cannot get along without a fixed quantity of food products. Especially noteworthy is the enormous increase in rent. H. L. Bliss, contributor of statistical articles to the Journal of Political Economy and American Journal of Sociology, in his pamphlet "Plutocracy's Statistics," subjects the official statistics to a most rigid criticism, especially wage statistics, and proves that the data about wages and prices are doctored "in the most unscrupulous manner in the interest of plutocracy." After having rejected the official data as intentionally falsified he presents his own figures, which we quote here.

The Massachusetts report regarding manufacturing industries for 1897 (p. 174) presents comparative statistics for 4,695 identical establishments for the years 1896 and 1897, showing average annual earnings of $426.66 in the former and $421.69 in the latter year. The average time worked was 281.03 days in the former and 283.33

in the latter year. Thus there was $5 less pay and two days' more work.

The report for 1898 (p. 72) gives statistics of 4,701 establishments for the years 1897 and 1898, which show average annual earnings as $422.26 in 1897 and $421.48 in 1898. The working time increased from 284.05 days to 286.28 days. Thus there was paid 79 cents less for over two more days' work.

The Massachusetts report for 1899 shows that in 4,740 establishments there was an increase in average annual earnings from $419.91 in 1898 to $427.71 in 1899, and that the average time worked was 286.27 days in 1898 and 294.14 days in 1899. Thus for 7.87 days' more work there was an increase in pay for the year of $7.80. This indicates a slight decrease in per diem wages.

The decrease occurred notwithstanding the fact of a greater increase in male than in female employees; the increase was, males, 10.6 per cent; females, 7.63 per cent. The increase in number of employees of both sexes was 9.58 per cent. In 1898 the increase in the number of employees was 1.80 per cent. In 1897 it was 2.72 per cent.

The Pennsylvania report for 1898 gives comparative statistics of 961 identical establishments for the years 1896, 1897 and 1898, but the report of 1899 makes comparison of but 855 establishments. It seems somewhat singular to find omitted all of the establishments of the clothing industry, nine in number. It does not seem possible that the whole nine could have gone out of business. The average daily wages in these establishments, having 3,105 employees, was, according to the report of 1898, but 66 cents. This

and other omissions from the list of establishments for which comparison is made, seems to have been due to the purpose of obtaining a higher average wage for 1899. The following shows the average number of days the establishments were in operation, the average annual earnings and daily wages for 855 establishments as given in the report of the secretary of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania (part 3).

	Days in operation.	Average annual earnings.	Daily wages.
1896	268	$409.81	$1.33
1897	276	382.94	1.39
1898	286	398.69	1.39
1899	288	432.49	1.50

It should be understood that the average annual earnings is obtained in both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania reports by dividing the total wages by the average number of employees, and represents the average annual earning of only those operatives who are employed during the whole time the establishment is in operation. It will be noticed that while the average wages, as well as average earnings, were higher in 1899 than in 1898, the average wages were lower than in 1896. Thus we have in 1899 an increase in per diem wages, according to the Pennsylvania report, and a decrease according to that of Massachusetts. Averages are, however, often deceiving.

The Massachusetts reports cover nearly every manufacturing establishment in the state of any importance and therefore come nearer reflecting the condition of wage-earners generally than could be done by the comparison for a few establishments.

The Pennsylvania report shows a larger increase in the number of those employed in the higher paid industries, notably in iron and steel production. As we have already discovered, the statistician has dropped establishments from the comparison that might show an increase in the lowest paid employees. Let us, however, take a single industry, one in which there has been a boom, largely owing to foreign demand. Taking the pig iron industry we find the following figures:

	Days in operation.	Average annual earnings.	Daily wages.
1896	289	$396.30	$1.37
1897	306	414.92	1.36
1898	326	442.32	1.32
1899	327	496.18	1.51

This seems quite favorable to the wage earner, for he gets nearly $100 more for his year's work than in 1896, though working 38 days more to obtain it. This is what he gets. Let us see what is the increased value which his labor produces and which he does not get.

The following figures are brought together from page 513 of this report:

	1896.	1899.
Average realized value per ton	$11.21	$15.01
Average cost of basic material	6.52	5.94
Average cost of labor per ton	1.14	1.16

Thus labor receives an increase of 2 cents per ton while the employer realized an increased margin between selling price and cost of labor and material of $4.36 per ton.

Compared with the reports of earlier years, according to the Massachusetts manufacturing re-

turns, the average annual earnings decreased from 1892 to 1898 $30.73 and such earnings were one-third of a dollar less in 1898 than in 1894, the year following the disastrous panic of 1893, a panic which, though world-wide, may, in a measure at least, be attributed to legislation. (pp. 24, 25 and 26.) The most reliable statistics indicate not only a fall in wages since the panic of 1893, but that there has been an almost continuous decline from the high wages preceding the panic of 1873.

Especially deplorable are the wages earned by women.

Riis (in his "Other Half," etc., p. 241) states for New York City as follows. Sixty cents is put as the average day's earnings of the 150,000 (working girls and women), but into this computation enters the stylish "cashier" two dollars a day as well as the thirty cents of the poor little girl who pulls thread in an East Side factory, and, if anything, the average is probably too high. Such as it is, however, it represents board, rent, clothing and "pleasure" to this army of workers. Here is the case of a woman employed in the manufacturing department of a Broadway house. She is typical of a hundred other women. She averages $3 (three) a week. She pays $1.50 for her room, for breakfast she has a cup of coffee. Lunch she cannot afford, one meal a day is her allowance. This woman is young and she is pretty. She has the "world before her." (p. 241.)

The Fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1885, "Working Women in Large Cities," contains the following data: "Seventeen thousand four hundred and twenty-

seven working women living in 22 cities of the United States were interviewed by the agents of of the Department of Labor. The cities selected are thoroughly representative of different parts of the country, including the South, the North and West, the Middle States, the Pacific coast and the Atlantic slope. As six to seven per cent of the actual number of women in the employments considered in these cities were treated of in the report, the results of the last may be considered as fairly illustrative of the condition of the entire class of toiling womanhood. From the 17,427 only 6 were children under 10 years of age, and 247 of the number had begun work before they were 10; four were 10 years old, and 337 had begun at 10; 16 were 11, and 964 had begun at 11; 48 were 12, and 1,388 had begun at twelve; 236 were 13, and 2,502 had begun at 13; over one-sixth were 16 or under, and 13,505 had begun at 16 or under. More of the girls were 18 than of any other age. The average age at work was 22 years and 7 months; the average age for beginning 15 years and 4 months. The number who worked after they were 30 years old was 267; and those who worked after 40 was 76. Ten thousand four hundred and fifty-six of the girls had attended public schools, and 5,375 had been in other schools. That the school training they received was not of a high order can be judged by the fact that 947 girls who reported that they attended school could not read an easy sentence.

The report suggests the conclusion that in the 22 cities investigated there were about 300,000 working women of an average age of 22, who started to work at the average age of 15 with a very poor school training.

The conditions under which women work are less favorable than those of the male workers.

The wages paid were found to average $5.24 for 13,822 women who reported; 373 earned less than $100 per year; there were some 400 who received from $450 to $500; but over half received as much as $150 but less than $300. About 150,000 women in the 22 cities investigated were compelled to live on such beggarly incomes, be respectably dressed and "look pleasant" during business hours.

Some women reported that they averaged from their regular occupation an income of about $295 a year, that their expenses for rooms and meals amounted to about $162, for clothes about $80, and for other expenses about $38, leaving them a surplus of $15 a year. These, however, were cases where the women had a home; 14,918 out of 17,427 live at home. Of these nearly 10,000 assist with housework, and over 13,000 either give their earnings to their family or pay board.

Director of Charities Harrison B. Cooley, Ohio, has been looking into the condition of Cleveland's working women. In the report which he has prepared from personal investigation and observation he avers that he is grievously suprised at the result. He found that the average cost of living for a woman of this class was $5.24, while the average wage is $4.83. He stated that out of thirty-eight women he questioned, twelve were earning $3 and six were earning but $2 per week. This, he declares, is a fair representation of the general condition. The director said, "To those who are permitted to see it, the tragedy of our modern industrial and social system is appalling. The cruel and unjust conditions really cause a

ruin and degradation of life a hundred fold more than the things reformers are more prone to attack." (Taxpayer and Workingmen.)

Returning to official statistics we find the following instructive data. The census of the decade 1890-1900 contains the following figures.

The total increase of the population of the United States during that decade was 20.7 per cent; the total increase of the number total value of products in the United States during that decade was 23.2 per cent; the total increase of the number of laborers in the United States was 25.2 per cent.

The total increase of laborers was 8½ per cent greater than that of wages.

The solid fact is painfully emphasized by the following figures. The average wages in 1890 were $444.83 and in 1900 only $439.09. That means actually $6.88 or 1.5 per cent less in 1900 than in 1890. According to Dun's Index the prices of 350 articles mostly used by the working class averaged during that time an increase of 1.8 per cent. If we deduct this increase of prices from the rate of wages we will get a reduction of 3.3 per cent in the real wages, or the purchasing power of a day's work. The decreased purchasing powers of a dollar alone during that period would indicate a decline of 2 per cent in actual wages.

Let us now take into consideration the corresponding data of the previous census for the decade 1880-1890.

The increase of the number of laborers from 1880-1890 amounted to 55.61 per cent, while the total wages for that decade increased 99.5 per cent. The aggregate wages paid to them in-

creased 79 per cent faster than the number of total laborers. Dividing the total wages by the total number of laborers from 1880-1890 the averages wages increased 28½ per cent. Moreover, the purchasing power of a dollar rose 8 per cent, making an increase in real wages of more than 38 per cent. Comparing now the data of the two censuses we are forced to the conclusion that there was a remarkable fall in the actual wages during the last decade, a fall amounting, according to the most conservative calculation, to about 2 per cent in the decade 1890-1900 if only the purachising power alone would be taken into consideration and the rate of wages would be assumed as stationary. In order to be fair we will glance at the figures expressing the state of economic growth of production in the country in general.

The comparison of the two censuses in that respect shows that the increase in the total product was, both actually and relatively, greater from 1880-1890 than from 1890-1900, the increase being 39 per cent for the last against 74.51 per cent for the first. In proportion to the population the wealth product in 1880 was $107 per capita, in 1890 $149, or an increase of $42 per capita; in 1900 it was $170, showing an increase of $21 per capita. So it appears that the product per capita increased just twice as fast in 1880-1890 than in 1890-1900.

The comparative wages in gold were as follows:

Date.	Daily wages in gold.
January, 1860	$1.18
January, 1873	1.81
January, 1891	1.69

In other words, wages in gold in the urban establishments which reported advanced 53½ per cent during the thirteen years between 1860 and 1873. During the succeeding eighteen years, despite the continued advance in the productiveness of labor, they lost enough to reduce the net gain to 43 per cent. During the war the wages of labor advanced rapidly (about one-third if measured in gold). After the war was over wages rapidly advanced till 1873. From that time until 1879 the wages fell rapidly. With the resumption of specie payment the wages started to increase pretty steadily until 1893. From the middle of that year wages fell again. According to the latest volumes of the Connecticut Labor Report and the Massachusetts "Statistics of Manufacture," the nominal rate of wages in 1894 had declined about seven per cent below the level of 1892, while the yearly level of the incomes of the laborers had been still reduced further by lack of employment. Manufacturing laborers have had a heavy share of the loss inflicted on all producers by the fall of prices. (Spahr—Distribution of Wealth, p. 111.)

Capital receives two-fifths of the national income, while the labor of all classes, including that of capitalists, receives three-fifths.

Extra Census Bulletin 67, of the Eleventh United States Census, contains an array of figures dealing with manufacturing industries in this country, the purpose being to show what proportion of such enterprises goes to the labor employed in them. This table will show the conclusion succinctly:

Product total manufactures in 1890	$9,370,107.624
Material and miscellaneous cost	5,789,812,411
Wages cost	2,282,823,265
Balance to capital	1,297,471,948

Conditions in New York.—The Bureau of Labor compiles statistics of wages and employees from the reports of 3,553 of the largest manufacturing concerns of the State. The table shows how the number of employees increased from 1896 to 1899, fiscal years, and especially from 1896 to 1898:

	Number of employees.	
1896	299,957	
1897	304,131	1.4 per cent increase
1898	326,090	7.2 per cent increase
1899	356.278	9.2 per cent increase

Total increase in the years 56,321, 18.7 per cent.

The aggregate of wages paid by the same establishments:

1896	$141,184,845	
1897	138,577,678	1.8 per cent decrease
1898	151,279,000	9.2 per cent increase
1899	162,645,649	7.5 per cent increase

Increase wages 1889 over 1896, $21,460,804, or 15.2 per cent.

From this table it will be seen that the number of men employed increased more rapidly (18.7 per cent) than did the total wages (15.2 per cent).

In main the increase in number of men employed in 1897 above 1898 was 20 per cent, while the increase in total earnings reached only 15 per cent.

Commissioner Martin F. McHale writes in February 16, 1900: "The relative cost of living is on all sides conceded to be fully 20 per cent more than it was one and two years ago." The commissioners of Colorado, Minnesota and other States report decided advance in cost of living. The Massachusetts Labor Bulletin shows, on the whole, an upward tendency in prices. Here is a list which will show comparative prices of a few of the principal food commodities in the Boston market:

	January 1, 1899.	January 1, 1900. Increase per cent.
Sirloin steak		10
Bacon		10
Fresh pork		44
Butter		6

Coffee, sugar, molasses, salt, beans and most vegetables were slightly higher. Generally speaking meat was higher in price early in 1900 than a year previous, whereas bread was unchanged in price. Bradstreet's agency compiled a most valuable list, showing the commodities which changed in prices between January 1, 1899, and January 1, 1900.

INCREASES IN PRICE.

Beef (live)	Lard
Sheep (live)	Butter
Hogs (live)	Cheese
Horses	Mackerel
Beef (carcasses)	Coffee
Hogs (carcasses)	Sugar
Milk	Molasses
Beef (family)	Salt
Pork	Southern coke
Bacon	Linseed oil
Hams	Rosin

Beans
Peas
Potatoes
Peanuts
Lemons
Raisins
Hides
Hemlock leather
Union leather
Oak leather
Cotton
Wool
Hemp
Jute
Flax
Print cloth
Standard sheeting
Ginghams
Southern sheeting
Petroleum
Castor oil
Turpentine
Iron ore
Eastern pig iron
Southern pig iron
Bessemer pig iron
Steel billets
Steel rails
Tin plates
Steel beams
Copper
Lead
Tin
Quicksilver
Anthracite coal
Bituminous coal
Connelsville coke
Rubber
Paper
Hay
Cotton seed
Olive oil
Tar

JANUARY 1, 1899, AND JANUARY 1, 1900.

INCREASES IN PRICE.

Paper
Nails
Carbolic acid
Glass
Yellow pine
Sulphuric acid
Spruce timber
Hemlock timber
Caustic
Alum
Borax
Quinine

DECREASED IN PRICE.

Wheat
Corn
Oats
Barley
Rye
Flour
Mutton (carcasses)
Eggs
Tea
Rice
Carrots
Silver
Brick
Alcohol
Opium
Hops
Tobacco
Ground bone

UNCHANGED PRICES.

Bread	Aluminum
Codfish	Lime
Apples	Bicarbonate of soda
Cranberries	Nitric acid

(pp. 61, 62.)

To every unprejudiced mind this list proves conclusively that the most important food products and most needed commodities increased in price. The decline in breadstuffs—wheat and corn—was only about six per cent.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, in a pamphlet entitled Comparative Wages and Prices, 1860-1892, states that, as a rule, wages were higher in 1897 than in 1881, only eight industries being reported as exceptions, but the wages in 1897 were lower than in 1872. In the prices of groceries there was a decrease of 30 per cent from 1872 to 1877, and a decrease of 6.67 per cent from 1887. Provisions, as a whole, show a decrease of 18.52 per cent in 1897, compared with both 1872 and 1881. But even if it could be proven that prices of necessities declined, the rise in rent was so exorbitatnt as to overweigh this decline. Not only does this higher rent reduce to its full extent the portion of income available for other purposes, but the tenement house system, coincident with it, by precluding the possibility of purchasing coal by the ton and wood by the load, drives up to extortionate figures the retail price of fuel. A part of the benefits which would otherwise have accrued to the wage earning class from the reduction that took place in the average retail prices of food and clothing was therefore transferred to the landlord and retail dealer.

In connection with the investigation of the income of laborers it will be instructive to cast a cursory glance at their budget. According to Dr. Engel of Prussia a workingman with an income from $225 to $300 a year spends on means of subsistence 62 per cent of his earnings, while his expense and clothing reaches only 16 per cent. On lodging he spends 12 per cent; fuel and light, 5 per cent, making a total of 95 per cent; 5 per cent being left for religion, legal protection, care of health and recreation.

Very close to these figures are the data about the percentage of expenditures of a workingman's family with an income of $754.42 in the State of Massachusetts. He spends on subsistence, in round figures, 49 per cent; clothing, 15 per cent; rent, 19 per cent; fuel, 4 per cent; sundry expenses, 10 per cent. Dr. Engel's figures for a laborer of approximately the same income are: Expenses for subsistence, 50 per cent; clothing, 18 per cent; rent, 12 per cent; fuel, 5 per cent; sundry expenses, 15 per cent. (Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York, 1892, p. 294.)

A number of budgets of workingmen's families residing in the State of New York show likewise the preponderance of the percentage of the expenses for means of subsistence and rent over manufactured articles. It will suffice to quote here one typical budget of a carpenter's family with an income of $363. The expenses for rent, fuel and light make up 33.4 per cent; food, 46.3 per cent; clothing, 11.6 per cent, and miscellaneous, 8.7 per cent of the budget. (p. 301.)

The standard of living of the wage-earning class has not risen in proportion to its productiv-

ity. The productivity, in fact, has increased most in the very things that the working class itself can neither consume, own or enjoy. (pp. 334, 335.)

The State of New York contains nearly one-tenth of the population and over one-sixth of the total wealth of the Union.

The review of the economic development of that State for the ten years from 1880-1890, according to official data of the Labor Bureau, will be therefore of special interest.

The total capital engaged in manufacturing industries of all kinds, after making necessary subtractions for industries and items omitted in the previous census, increased 97.37 per cent from 1880 to 1890 in the City of New York.

The number of hands employed in manufacturing industries in the City of New York increased 48.9 per cent for the same period.

In the aggregate, the capital invested in manufacturing industries has increased in a higher ratio than the number of hands employed. The returns for seventy-five leading cities throughout the country show an increase of 123.51 per cent in capital, against the much lower increase of 65.77 per cent in the number of persons employed. This is one of the facts which confirm and illustrate the proposition that the average amount of capital required to successfully engage in business is steadily growing larger. This fact in its turn leads to an increasing concentration of the industrial activity in the shape of gigantic combines, monopolies and trusts as an inevitable result. The amount paid for labor in the City of New York increased 127.89 per cent and the average earnings of the workings were $653 in 1890,

against $427 in 1880, showing an increase of 52.93 cent. We have, however, no reliable data about the actual purchasing power of wages, modified by the change in prices and rents. This remark applies likewise to the following data. For the seventy-five cities above referred to the number of employees increased 65.77 per cent, but the aggregate wages paid increased 135 per cent, and the average individual earnings were $547 in 1890 against $386 in 1880, an increase of 41.71 per cent.

The number of persons employed in manufacturing increased faster than the population. The wage system developed at an unprecedented rate in the State of New York during the past decade. 1880-1890, more so than in the rest of the United States.

In the City of New York from 1880-1890 the increase in the number in the industries was 103 per cent, while the returns of the seventy-five cities throughout the country show also a high rate of increase. (pp. 39 and 46.)

The percentage of increase in the City of New York was as follows:

Number of establishments reported, 103.18 per cent.
Capital invested, 97.37 per cent.
Number of hands employed, 48.90 per cent.
Wages paid, 127.89 per cent.
Cost of material used, 20.36 per cent.
Value of products at works, 56.20.
Population of the city, 25.62 per cent.

The general public little realizes that the problem of the unemployed in the United States is a grave one, almost as grave as any other phase of the labor problem. The Massachusetts Labor Report of 1897, for instance, shows that in 1885, when the State census was taken, the average loss

from this source was one and one-sixth months or five weeks for all the employees of the State.

Even in years that are most prosperous the total loss of time on the part of the wage earners is great. There are, every year, for the workmen never off the pay roll, holidays and days when the factory stops for repairs, taking of stock, etc., and days that work is slack in certain departments, and days of sickness, and finally, in certain important trades, there are days, and even whole seasons, in which work is practically suspended. It is a prosperous year indeed when the average wage earner aggregates forty-four full weeks' employment. (Spahr—Distr. of Wealth, p. 101.)

The Massachusetts State Board of Labor indicates that during 1873-78, the industrial depression, that out of 318,000 men in the State engaged in mechanical pursuits, about 30,000 were unemployed. During the depression of 1882-1885 it is estimated that about 1,000,000 were idle. During the depression following 1893 the trades unions' estimate put the number at about 4,500,000. Returns made to Bradstreet's, the result of which were published December 23, 1893, show that in 119 cities 801,055 men, having about 1,956,110 persons dependent upon them, were out of employment. Carlos C. Classen, investigating the problem of unemployed, found in sixty cities 523,080 idle men. During the depression in 1885 there were in Massachusetts 816,470 persons engaged in gainful occupations; of those 241,589 were unemployed during part of the year. The time lost, if we consider only the principal occupations of each individual, was 82,744 years. The net absolute loss of working time amounted to 78,717.76 years.

The Illinois Labor Report for 1886 published returns upon this point from representatives of eighty thousand wage earners. The summary of these returns is as follows:

40,281 Trades Unionists average 35.5 weeks—68 per cent full time.
7,036 Coal miners average 23.4 weeks—45 per cent full time.
5,567 Railroad men average 46.1 weeks—88 per cent full time.
32,445 Knights of Labor average 41.5 weeks—80 per cent full time.

"If," says the commissioner, "it be considered necessary to make some allowance for any supposed disposition to exaggerate the case on the part of those who have stated it, or for error in judgment on the part of those stating it, the conclusion might be somewhat modified and still show the average working time to be 75 per cent."

In the Massachusetts report of 1879 the employer returns show that 263,000 persons engaged in mechanical industries averaged 266.6 days' work, or approximately 44 weeks. The Massachusetts Manufactures Report for 1891 shows that the factories ran an average of 49½ weeks, and the average number employed was one-tenth less than the greatest number employed. Among unskilled workmen the amount of time lost, according to all reports, is much greater. (p. 102.)

Among the causes reducing the earning capacities of the laboring class many adverse industrial conditions of our time have to be taken into consideration.

W. F. Willoughby in the Bulletin of the Department of Labor for 1901 (Vol. VI) presents the following data on accidents to labor.

TOTAL RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND NUMBER KILLED AND INJURED IN THE UNITED STATES, YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1899 TO 1899.

Year.	Total railway employees.	Killed.	Injured.
1889	704,743	1,972	20,028
1890	749,301	2,451	22,396
1891	784,285	2,660	26,140
1892	821,415	2,554	28,267
1893	873,602	2,727	31,729
1894	779,608	1,823	23,422
1895	785,034	1,811	25,696
1896	826,620	1,861	29,969
1897	823,476	1,693	27,667
1898	874,558	1,958	31,761
1899	928,924	2,210	34,923

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES FOR EACH ONE KILLED OR INJURED BY RAILWAY ACCIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1889 TO 1899.

Years.	All employees. Killed.	Injured.
1889	357	35
1890	306	33
1891	295	30
1892	322	29
1893	320	28
1894	428	33
1895	433	31
1896	444	28
1897	486	30
1898	447	28
1899	420	27

ACCIDENTS.

The total number of casualties to persons on account of railway accidents, as shown for the year ending June 30, 1902, was 73,250, the number of persons killed having been 8,588 and the number injured 64,662. Of

railway employees, 2,969 were killed and 50,524 were injured.

These figures show a very considerable increase in the number of employees injured, a result due in part to the unusual increase in traffic and the consequent use of all kinds of equipment and the employment of untried men, and in part to the fact that since July 1, 1901, the carriers have been obliged by law to render monthly reports, under oath, to the commission, detailing the causes and circumstances surrounding all accidents to employees. The summaries giving the ratio of casualties show that 1 out of every 401 employees was killed, and 1 out of every 24 employees was injured. With reference to trainmen—including in this term enginemen, firemen, conductors, and other trainmen—it is shown that one was killed for every 135 employed, and 1 was injured for every 10 employed. One passenger was killed for every 1,883,706 carried, and 1 injured for every 97,244 carried. Ratios based upon the number of miles traveled, however, show that 57,072,283 passenger miles were accomplished for each passenger killed, and 2,946,272 passenger miles accomplished for each passenger injured.

Mr. Hoffman has prepared a large number of tables for accidents to miners in different States, but the general results are summarized in the Engineering and Mining Journal for November 24, 1900:

FATAL ACCIDENTS IN THE COAL MINES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA 1890-1899.

1890	701	1895	1,020
1891	1,076	1896	1,091
1892	859	1897	909
1893	919	1898	1,004
1894	934	1899	1,200

FATAL ACCIDENTS IN COAL MINES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA PER EACH 1,000 EMPLOYEES, 1890 TO 1899.

1890	2.43	1895	2.63
1891	3.30	1896	2.78
1892	2.51	1897	2.81
1893	2.46	1898	2.54
1894	2.47	1899	2.99

No country offers more illustrations of injury to railroad employees than the United States, injury caused by overwork on the part of the laborers and criminal neglect on the part of the soulless railroad corporations.

There were killed on the railroads in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1892, 2,551 employees, and 28,268 were injured. That is, one employee for every 322 men at work in this industry was killed, and one injured for every 29 men in the employ of the railways. In the case of the trainmen, the statistics for the same year show that there was one man killed for every 113 of this class of employees, and one was injured for every 10. (Report of the Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commissioners in 1892, pp. 68, 78.)

According to the Report of the United States Geological Survey the number of miners killed during the year 1901 alone amounted to 1,467, while the number of wounded reached 3,643. Each 1,881,668 tons of coal mined in the United States are paid by the price of the life of one killed miner. In the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania alone 513 miners were killed and 1,243 wounded, 277 women turned widows and 624 children orphans. Each 131,524 tons of coal mined in Pennsylvania is paid by the priec of the life of one miner. In the bituminous mines of Pennsylvania 301 miners were killed and 656 wounded, 184 women turned widows and 412 children orphans. The mining belt teems with cripples, invalids and orphans.

Industrial conditions peculiar to our capitalistic system of production lead not only to accidents resulting in the death or invalidity of the

wage workers, but to the gradual chronic degeneration of the working class because of the disease-begetting conditions that surround the work.

The annual report of the Labor Commissioner of New Jersey for the year 1889 (p. 35), for instance, states as follows:

"The writer has witnessed the decline of the generations of pot-makers within the past forty years." Page 36 shows data according to which of 240 sizers of pots or makers of hats 76 had catarrh, 44 rheumatism, 41 coughs, 17 have had "shakes," 13 had at that time the "shakes," 12 constantly catching cold because of sudden change of temperature, 7 complained of dyspepsia, 200 of stimulants and tobacco. The writer ascribes all this to poor sanitation.

Unhealthy industrial conditions lead to a higher death rate among laboring classes than among the well-to-do.

The Massachusetts statistics show that the average death age of a farmer is 65.19 years, which is the highest average in any occupation. The average age of death among male factory operatives is 38.92, and of female operatives only 27.98, which is the lowest average on the list. Next to female operatives in lowness of average wage earners with 33.84, plumbers with 35.43, and glass blowers with 37.81 years.

According to Joseph Korosy, the eminent statistician of Buda Pesth, if we start at the age of 25 with 1,000 persons of each class there will be living at the end of 35 years of the merchants, 587; of the tailors, 421; of the shoemakers, 376; of the servants, 290; of day laborers, 253. During this time the total number of years of life lived by the merchants was 28,001 and by day

laborers only 22,317. But worse than this, of the years of life falling to the lot of the day laborers, 1,493 will be years of sickness, while of years of life lived by merchants only 824 will be years of sickness. In other words the merchant will have 33½ years in which to provide for one of sickness, while the day laborer will have only 13.9 years of health in which to provide for sickness. (Mittheilungen ueber Industrielle Mortalitat, 1876, p. 28.)

According to Ansell, out of 100,000 children born alive, there will be living:

	At end of first year.	Age of fifteen.	Age of sixty.
Peerage family	93.038	85.890	51.166
Upper class	91.955	83.392	53.398
Clergy children	91.667	79.536	
English life tables	85.051	68.465	36.983

Mr. John McMackin, Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, gives the following data in his report for the year 1900 (p. 62, etc.). English statistics show that between the ages of 25 and 65 the death rate among workers of earthen ware is fully three times as large as that among clergymen. Such an enormous disparity shows that thousands of workingmen die long before they have produced all the wealth they were capable of producing, if their health had been preserved by proper care. Many other trades are equally injurious to health, as will be seen in the following table of comparative mortality of certain occupations in England in the years 1890, 1891 and 1892:

OCCUPATIONS WITH HIGHEST AND LOWEST MORTALITY FIGURES IN ENGLAND, 1890-2.

(Supplement to 55th Annual Report of the Registrar-General.)

Occupation.	Comparative mortality figure. Highest.
Dock laborer	1,829
File maker	1,810
Lead worker	1,783
Inn, hotel servant	1,725
Potter, earthenware manufacturer	1,706
Innkeeper, servant, etc.	1,650
Costermonger, hawker	1,652
Innkeeper	1,642
Coal heaver	1,528
Cutler, scissors maker.	1,516
General laborer (industrial districts).	1,509
Glass manufacturer	1,487
Brewer	1,427
General laborer (London)	1,413
Tool, scissors, file, saw, etc., maker	1,412
Tin miner	1,409
Manufacturing chemist.	1,392
Copper worker	1,381
Wool, silk, etc., dyer.	1,370
Seaman, etc.	1,352
Slater, tiler	1,322
Chimney sweep	1,311
Lead miner	1,310
Nail, anchor, chain, etc., maker	1,301
Carman, carrier	1,284
Copper miner	1,230
Gunsmith	1,228
Messenger, porter (not railway or government).	1,222
General laborer	1,221
Transport service	1,216
Musician, music master.	1,214
Bargeman	1,199
Zinc worker	1,198
Stone, slate quarrier.	1,176
Coach, cab service	1,153
Coal miner (Monmouthshire and South Wales).	1,145
Cotton, etc., manufacturer	1,141
Silk, satin, etc., manufacturer	921
Baker, confectioner	920
Shoemaker, bootmaker	920
Commercial clerk	915
Blacksmith, whitesmith	914
Coal miner (West Riding)	912
Paper manufacturer	904
Tallow, soap manufacturer	897
Maltster	884
Carpet, rug manufacturer.	873
Shopkeeper	859
Other occupied males.	847
Fisherman	845
Miller	845
Publisher	833
Railway guard, etc.	825
Barrister, solicitor	821
Railway engine driver, guard, etc.	818
Railway engine driver	810
Ironmonger	807
Coal merchant	803
Engine driver (not railway, etc.)	786
Carpenter, joiner	783
Railway official clerk	781
Artist, engraver, etc.	778
Wheelwright	778
Coal miner (Durham and Northumberland)	774
Ironstone miner	774
Sawyer	768
Domestic indoor servant.	757
Tanner, fellmonger	756
Brick tile burner	741
Coal miner (Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire)	727
Shipwright	713
Lace manufacturer	709
Hosiery manufacturer	698
Laborer in agricultural group	666
Grocer	664
Agricultural Laborer	632
Schoolmaster	604
Agriculturalist	602
Farmer, grazier	563
Gardener, etc.	553
Clergyman	533

Occupations in the first column have a mortality above and those in the second column below the average for all occupied males (953). Among the 48 other occupational groups 39 are above and 9 below this figure. The standard of comparison (1,000) is the mortality figure for all males.

Indented lines indicate sub-classes or occupations.

The number of deaths of male persons between 25 and 65 years of age in the years 1891 and 1892 is compared with the number of living persons exercising the various occupations, as returned by the census of 1891. The mortality of all males within the age period, 25-65 years, is then taken as a standard with which the death rate in the various occupations is compared. The unoccupied male had a death rate more than twice as large as that of all males, the exact ratio being as 2,215 to 1,000, while the occupied males of course had a lower mortality, thus:

All males (standard)	1,000
Unoccupied males	2,215
Occupied males (England)	953
Occupied males (London)	1,147
Occupied males (industrial districts)	1,248
Occupied males (agricultural district)	681

The mortality among male workers in the industrial districts is all but twice as heavy as it is in the agricultural districts, thus showing the expensiveness to the community of noxious pursuits. Regarding men simply as working animals the community cannot afford to permit such a disproportionate mortality. If all these workers were slaves we may be sure that their owners

would take care to preserve their lives beyond the present average.

If we recur to the preceding table of occupational mortality the disparities are even more striking. At the bottom of the list are clergymen (533) and at the top dock laborers (1,829). School teachers stand low in the list (604). Medical men, who are in constant contact with disease and who work most irregularly, have, nevertheless, a lower mortality (966) than the majority of factory operatives.

These official figures from the fifty-fifth annual report of the Registrar General of England simply confirm the conclusions of physicians familiar with the lives of factory operatives. A French physician who has made an exhaustive study of this subject (Dr. Ilja (Elias) Sachine, Le Journé du Huit Heures au Point de Vue de l'Hygiene et de la Medicine, Lyon, 1900), concludes that the abnormal sickness and mortality among working people is due, not simply to poisonous and noxious substances in the materials of work, but also to fatigue which affects the nerves. A few of the conclusions of Dr. Sachine will be of interest to us.

"Mortality and sickness are unusually pronounced among working classes. Their average death rate, compared with other classes, is especially high beyond the age of 35 or 40, i. e., the age at which fatigue attains the ascendancy over the endurance and power of resistance of the individual, however great his physical strength may have been at first. The bodily development of the factory operative remains inferior to that found in other social classes. *Excessive work and long hours* are the causes that have *powerfully pro-*

moted the use of stimulants and intoxicating liquors.

The harmful influence of the long *working hours are not only directly upon those who work, but also upon future generations and threatens the vigor and full development of the human race."*

We see that the laborer is exploited by the capitalistic system of production—as a producer—by offering the lowest remuneration for the most intense work and as a consumer by screwing up prices to the highest possible point for commodities he has to use in order to exist and propagate his kind. The result of this most unmerciful exploitation of the producers by the parasitic classes of society appear in the distribution of income and property in the United States.

Professor Chas. B. Spahr, of Columbia University, wrote an essay on the present distribution of wealth in the United States and published it in 1896.

From this essay we will here make a few extracts.

"Distribution of property by classes.

The Massachusetts Labor Bureau in its report for 1873 presented the following data: 'The number of people paying taxes upon property was nearly four-fifths of the whole number of family residents. Among those paying such taxes, however, four-fifths held less than one-fifth of the property, while one-fiftieth held nearly as much property as all the remainder.' The data published twenty years later by the assessing department of the city of Boston showed that the whole number of property taxpayers was less than one-fifth the number of families residing in Boston.

For the same year the list of property owners taxed more than $1,000 showed them to possess more than half the taxable property." (p. 52.)

Mr. George K. Holmes' (quoted by Chas. B. Spahr) data shows that one-tenth of the families held about three times as much property as the other nine-tenths. (p. 55.)

The returns received from New York City in 1892 were as follows: Only about one-fourth of the men who died during the three months ending December, 1892, left any property whatever except their clothing and household furniture. If the death rate was normal during the period covered the returns indicated about one hundred and ten thousand property-owning families. The whole number of families in the city was three hundred and thirty thousand. In other words, two-thirds of the families are in a strict sense of the word propertyless.

The savings bank argument, so frequently employed by conservative statesmen and economists, is utterly fallacious as can be seen from the following facts: In New York City the number of savings bank accounts is nearly twice as great as the number of families. Yet two-thirds of the families not only possess no savings bank account, but no registered property of any description. The bulk of the deposit belongs to a comparatively small class of well-to-do citizens.

Respecting the distribution of wealth among the propertied classes, the returns for New York City showed that the small estates outnumber the medium and large ones, the ratio being nearly three to one in favor of estates less than $5,000. In value, all of these smaller estates combined represented but four per cent of the property,

while the comparatively few estates exceeding $50,000 was three times as valuable as all the remainder.

According to the data furnished by the Surrogate Court during the years from October, 1892-September, 1896, the *properties over $50,000 aggregated five times as much as those smaller than that sum.* The number of the possessors of the large estates was but six per cent of the property owners, and represented but two per cent of the heads of families dying during these two years. (pp. 50-60.)

The real estate within New York City is more valuable than all the real estate in New England, exclusive of the City of Boston, and more valuable than all the real estate in the eight commonwealth's between the Potomac and Texas. An abnormal concentration of both wealth and poverty is known to exist everywhere within its borders. (p. 61.) The distribution of wealth in Brooklyn is more typical of the large cities throughout the country. The estates worth over $50,000 contained over twice as much property as all the remainder; while the aggregate holdings of middle and poorer classes—those owning less than $50,000—was but seven per cent of the total.

Approximately one-eighth of the families of the nation—city, town and country—hold more than $5,000.

The census investigation showed that in New York City but 6 1-3 per cent of the families owned their homes. (pp. 66-68.)

The conclusion reached, therefore, is as follows:

Less than half the families are propertyless.

Seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine. (p. 69.)

The nation's income.

The profit of manufacturers, according to the Massachusetts Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1890, including interest, rent, taxes, and earnings for superintendence, was approximately *two-thirds of the wages of the employes.*

The wealthiest ten per cent of American families received approximately the same income as the remaining ninety per cent.

The average family income from labor should not be put higher than $500 in the towns and $300 in the rural districts. As three-fifths live in the rural districts the average would be $380 for all.

More than five-sixths of the income of the wealthiest class is received by 125,000 richest families, while less than one-half of the income of the working classes is received by the poorest, 6,500,000. In other words, one per cent of our families receive nearly one-fourth of the national income, while fifty per cent receive barely one-fifth. One-eighth of the families in America receive more than half of the aggregate income, and the richest one per cent receives a larger income than the poorest fifty per cent. In fact, the small class of wealthy property owners receive from property alone as large an income as half of our people receive from property and labor.

In connection with these facts, it is very instructive to see which of the classes—the rich or the poor—bear the burden of taxation.

Our authority maintains that nearly three-quarters of our national revenue is raised from taxes resting upon liquor, tobacco, sugar, and clothing. (Our national revenues have for several years aggregated a little less than four hundred millions. All but twenty millions of this sum is raised by custom and internal revenue duties.)

Mr. Spahr calculates: "When we consider only the revenues actually received by the government, the conclusion inevitably reached is that the wealthy class pays less than one-tenth of the indirect taxes, the well-to-do class, one-quarter; and the relatively poorer classes, two-thirds." (pp. 141-145.)

The resumé of Mr. Spahr is so characteristic that we cannot abstain from quoting some of its parts.

"In our own country the Civil War overthrew the once domniant cause of the separation of classes, but called into activity new forces working to the same end. The dominant (social-economic) forces to-day are all working toward the concentration of wealth in the cities, and the impoverishment of country districts. In the cities these forces are working towards a yet narrower concentration. The wealth of the cities is as much more concentrated as it is greater than the wealth of rural districts. Taking city and country together, we found that *the great body of small property owners hold barely one-eighth of the national wealth,* AND THAT ONE FAMILY *of every one hundred owns as much as all the remainder.*

"Turning to the incomes of families, we found that in this country, as well as in Europe, *two-*

fifths of the products of industry go as the share of capital, quite apart from the earnings of capitalist classes from personal exertions. One-tenth of the families have the same aggregate income as the remaining nine-tenths, while the one per cent at the top has as much as the fifty per cent at the bottom. Turning finally to the field of taxation, we found that the public is taxing as large a percentage from the incomes insufficient for the healthful and decent living as from incomes morally perilous to their possessors, and is placing upon the property of those struggling for independence, burdens fourfold heavier than upon the property of those already rich." (pp. 158, 159.)

The humiliating conclusion that the wage-worker of the United States, the man who supplies the "land of the free" with food, shelter, clothing and other necessaries of life, is overworked and underpaid by his employers and overtaxed by the State, whose nominal citizen he is, and also the conclusion that the toiling masses of the United States have to be classed in the category of the "respectable poor" force themselves upon us with the irresistable logic of a mathematical certainty. Indeed, we have seen that the yearly income of an average wage-worker's family is barely sufficient to keep it on the brink of semi-starvation even when there is work all the year round. Even of this small income he is by no means certain. Slight disturbances in business, illness, the whim or fancy of the "bread giving" employer, any accident may in the twinkling of an eye destroy the unstable equilibrium of the proletarian's economic status and turn him into a pauper. That there is only one

fatal step from the respectable poverty of a "wage-worker" to the demoralizing pauperism of the "outdoor relief" and the "indoor relief" variety may be illustrated by the following "story of John and Mary Baker" as related by Ernest P. Bicknell, of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, in the Report of the XXXIII National Conference of Charities:

"John and Mary Baker lived in a little country town in Southern Wisconsin. When the World's Fair was being laid out and the great buildings were going up, a young man, who was a friend of John Baker, went down to Chicago and got a job of work on the Fair grounds. John Baker was a good carpenter, and his friend wrote that everybody could get work at good pay, and that he had better come down. So John went, and took Mary and the two babies. He got work and steady pay. When the Fair was finished, there followed a terrible industrial depression. John Baker lost his job and could not get another. He went up and down and looked at the half finished buildings; but the whole town was overbuilt, and there was nothing for him to do. His savings gradually wasted away, and after awhile he had to give up his flat, for which he was paying $15, in a good neighborhood, and move into another place where he could rent rooms for $10 in a neighborhood not so good. He went on struggling and doing what he could in the way of odd jobs, and Mary took in a couple of boarders for awhile. They managed to get along for a year or two that way.

Times continued hard. John could not make both ends meet, and his savings were all gone. They moved to a place where the rent was six

or seven dollars a month—in a dreadful locality. They had to move, as they were to be put out of their rooms for non-payment of rent. The third flat into which they moved had no drainage. The rooms were dark, the surroundings vile, and the neighborhood terrible. There was no grass plot or trees, nothing but a grim and sordid life on a very low plane. Their life began to grow bad in this wretched place, and who is there to say a word of condemnation?

"Mary became cross and irritable and nervous. John's discouragement grew on him, and he got shabby and run down at the heel, and began to drink. After awhile it came about that, when he went into a business house to apply for a job, he went in with a hang-dog, sullen air which showed that he did not expect to get a job, and the employer was satisfied at a glance that he did not want any man like that around.

"When this state of affairs had been reached the eldest girl, Annie, who was not twelve years old, was taken out of school and put to work in a box factory. She began to run about at night, and the mother was too feeble to look after her. The boy, Harry, ran the streets, and fell into bad company, of course. He broke into a vacant house with some boys one day and stole lead pipe, and was arrested and sent to the House of Correction. Mary came down with typhoid fever just about the time that the landlord served a notice of eviction. Then a neighbor came to the Associated Charities and said, 'Here is a sad case. The woman is good, but the family is a bad lot. The man is worthless, the boy a criminal.' Now, that is what the Bureau of Charities found when its attention was first called to the

case of John and Mary Baker. Here was a condition of affairs that not a single charity association on the face of the earth could have cured. No charitable organization ever created, or that ever will be created, could have taken up that situation and quickly and permanently cured it. A long struggle was inevitable, if this family was to be brought back up the long steep incline down which it had gone. Our ambition to see results, or our failure to read the facts in their true significance, lead us to imagine that we can cure a case like that in a week. It leads some of us to think that by giving an order of groceries we can cure such a case, or that by sending the doctor around and giving Mary a dose of medicine we have done all that is required. What we need to remember is, that this has been a good family, and that it had moved down this incline for five years. It is folly to imagine that anything but long years of care in helping and guiding and lifting would bring it again up to the place of self respect that it had once occupied. The Associated Charities could not have done anything by itself, the doctor could not do much; no single society, no agency of any sort, was adequate to cope with that situation."

The Associated Charities of any great city knows not merely one family, but thousands, like that of John and Mary Baker.

The following data show the returns of 27,961 cases of applicants for relief, which were investigated by the charitable organizations in 1887:

Worthy of continuous relief, 2,888, or 10.3 per cent.
Worthy of temporary relief, 7,451, or 26.6 per cent.
Need work rather than relief, 11,280, or 40.4 per cent.
Unworthy of relief (?), 6,342, or 22.7 per cent.

Mr. Kellog, who submitted the report containing the data to the Conference of Charities, says that among all the societies of the country there is a notable unity of opinion that only from 31 to 37 per cent, or say one-third, of the cases actually treated were in need of that material assistance for which no office or friendly counsel or restraint could compensate. *The logical application of this statement to the whole country is, that two-thirds of its real or simulated destitutions could be wiped out by a more perfect adjustment of labor.*

The summary of returns from Baltimore, Boston and New Yorw charities for the years 1891, 1892, 1893 show that over 35 per cent of the cases should have work rather than relief; 9.1 per cent should have no relief (?); 58 per cent should be disciplined (!); 7.4 per cent should have visitations and advice only; and that only about 42.64 per cent needed direct relief of any kind. The causes of poverty in Buffalo are classified as shown on the following page.

A glance at that table will convince us that industrial conditions leading to lack of employment, insufficient earnings, etc., are responsible for the largest percentage among the causes of pauperism.

Drink is considered among the most important individual causes of poverty. The fact is, however, that drink is rather an effect of demoralization caused by extreme poverty, than a *cause* of the last. Intense exhausting labor, irregular employment, bad air, inadequate and ill-prepared food, cause a craving for stimulants.

Prof. Amos G. Warner says: "The ravages of intemperance are most plainly to be traced in

CAUSES OF POVERTY IN BUFFALO.

	1878-9	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	Total	Per cent
Lack of employment.....	186	62	72	235	186	316	550	169	121	1,873	30.2
Sickness	116	73	145	156	181	162	172	120	143	1,268	20.5
Accident	20	14	17	17	32	26	51	14	17	208	3.4
Insanity of breadwinner.....	3	6	5	3	5	3	14	8	514	51	0.8
Insufficient earning	97	48	86	74	32	22	35	33	24	451	7.3
No male support	33	26	44	37	25	21	15	65	131	397	6.4
Imprisonment of breadwinner.	8	11	15	15	7	14	6	14	18	108	1.7
Shiftlessness (?)	127	81	81	101	72	69	44	84	41	700	11.3
Physical defects	83	40	74	69	64	37	18	50	5	440	7.1
Unknown causes	78	41	121	76	44	38	55	45	27	525	8.4

classes above the pauper class." In passing through wards of almshouses Prof. A. G. Warner has been frequently surprised at the number of inmates who were said to be temperate and of whom the statement was apparently true. W. Benson Lewis, who writes in the Fortnightly Review, September, 1893, "On the Conditions of Crime," finds that, territorially, crime rather than pauperism seems to accompany drunkenness.

The same argument applies to so-called shiftlessness and other alleged *individual causes* of poverty. The vices of the poor are not the causes, but the results of the demoralization and physical deterioration brought about by indigence. A half-starved, ill-clad, badly housed, and ignorant proletarian cannot be expected to be prudent and far-seeing, selfreliant and provident. The physical and mental deterioration due to the anti-hygenic conditions of life and work lead to sickness and poverty. To the sickness and death of the natural family bread-winner, the superintendent of Chicago Charities attributes the destitution of a large majority of the dependents in Chicago. He said, "The state of the average family found in destitution, in a state of discouragement and resignation to their lot of poverty, can almost invariably be traced back to one cause—sickness and death and doctor's bills afterwards, followed by utter destitution, or the widow is left with a large family and the result is inevitable. Where the natural bread-winner is either dead or invalidated, the result is dependence."

That physical and mental weakness caused by poverty in its turn causes poverty and leads to the perpetuation of pauperism, is illustrated by

startling data about hereditary pauperism. Of 12,614 inmates in the almshouses of New York in the early seventies 397, or nearly 3.15 per cent, were the offspring of pauper fathers; 1,361, or 10.74 per cent, of pauper mothers. The dependence dated back to the third generation in 55 cases on the paternal and 92 cases on the maternal side, 1,122 had pauper brothers, 951 pauper sisters, 143 pauper uncles and 133 pauper aunts. About 22 per cent of the children of poorhouse parents were found to be of the dependent or delinquent classes. The percentage of those who were a charge upon the public raised a little more than 25 per cent. The influence of the environment of the poor born in the poorhouses and the slums on the tendency to the perpetuation of pauperism seems to be obvious. The children of the poor are foredoomed by the very conditions of their childlife to pauperism. (Mr. Booth puts pauper associations and hereditary together as contributory causes 16.7 per cent for England.)

We have proven that the main, if not only, cause of poverty in our time is social-economic parasitism with which our present society is honeycombed. We may repeat, with perfect consciousness of stating actual conditions, the lines addressed by Shelley to the "Men of England," but applicable to all the children of toil in the United States and elsewhere:

> Children of toil, wherefore plough
> For the lords who lay ye low?
> Wherefore weave with toil and care
> The rich robes your tyrants wear?
>
> Wherefore feed, and clothe, and save,
> From the cradle to the grave

Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood?

Wherefore, bees of America, forge
Many a weapon, chain, and scourge;
That those stingless drones may spoil
The forced product of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm?
Or what is it ye buy so dear
With your pain and your fear?

The seed you sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.

Sow seed, but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth—let no imposter heap;
Weave robes—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms in your defense to bear.

THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

"It is a repulsive subject!"

"It is a baneful misconception of modern civilization!"

"It is a socialistic atrocity!"

Such were the opinions of the middle class Philistines, the Bourgeois, about the picture of Jean Weber at the last exhibition of the "Salon" in Paris.

This picture is a large work, superb in colors and superbly drawn. It exercises an irresistible fascination on the spectator, it enchants the observer. Everybody at the "Salon" gazed at it; everybody talked about it. It aroused anger and indignation among the respectable parasitic classes of the French metropolis. It was greeted with intense enthusiasm by the friends of the masses who toil and lead a life of poverty.

If the writer of these lines possessed the genius of Edwin Markham, he would produce a poem about Weber's picture, even more stirring than "The Man with the Hoe."

A huge dynamo is in rapid motion. On a steel cylinder is perched a nude female figure, whose red hair stands on end by the force of electricity or terror. A ponderous fly-wheel is crushing to a hideous pulp tender and innocent children, delicate and beautiful women, vigorous men, representing the flower of the human race, old men and women. A river of human blood flows beneath.

Let us supplement this picture by another one.

Let us imagine that this river of human blood is being collected in a huge basin called "The World's Market," where the magicians of the Board of Trade, the wizards of gigantic trusts and monopolies, the conjurers of modern machine production, the kings of the finance turn this human blood into glittering gold and coin it into money to fill their private treasuries, their safes and vaults.

These two pictures, Weber's and ours, represent our modern parasitic civilization called *Capitalism,* as it is in reality, as *Cannibalism.*

The huge dynamo of Weber's picture represents the social-economic mechanism of modern machine production. The ponderous flywheel symbolizes the social-economic powers concentrated in the hands of the non-producers, called Capitalists.

And the men, women and children crushed into pulp are the toiling masses.

The most remarkable feature about the murderous flywheel of Capitalism is that it is entirely the product of the labor of its crushed victims, the proletarians.

The knowledge of the laws of Nature, the inventive genius and the mechanical skill that were necessary for the production of the flywheel of modern industry, are the common heritage of the human race.

The huge dynamo moving the flywheel of modern industry concentrates blind natural forces, that instead of being utilized for the benefit of the entire human race are exploited in the interests of a parasitic minority.

The injustice, the cruelty and absurdity of a

state of society, where the actual creators of commodities are turned into victims and abject slaves of those who do not create anything useful; where the toiling masses are being crushed by the means of the very same products of their toil, are so striking that they need little elucidation.

The questions that suggest themselves to our mind are:

How did such an obviously unjust, cruel and absurd state of society develop? How and why is such a state of society maintained and tolerated by reasoning and feeling human beings?

Capitalism, like all institutions of human society, is of a transitory character. It developed, grew, and is bound to be succeeded by another state of society as soon as it has outlived its utility.

Cannibalism was succeeded by slavery, slavery by serfdom, serfdom by free individual production, individual production by semi-socialized manufacture, and the last by fully socialized machine production.

There was a time when slavery was a progressive institution in comparison with cannibalism. Serfdom was the legitimate heir of slavery. Individual production was succeeded by the more economic manufacturing stage.

The modern machine production, *as an economic stage,* is immensely superior to all previous stages of production. The private ownership of the means of production by non-producers, however, turns machine production into the most perfect system of exploitation. The ownership of the means of production enables the non-producers to appropriate the lion's share

of the products of the toil of the working classes in the shape of rent, profit, and interest.

In order to get means of subsistence for himself and his family, the modern proletarian has to dispose in the world's market of the only property left to him—his labor power. He is compelled, under the penalty of death from starvation, to sell his labor power at the market price to the owner of the means of production—to the capitalist. The divorce between the producer and the means of production turned human labor power into a mere marketable commodity, subjected to all the vicissitudes of supply and demand.

As we cannot separate a living human being from his labor power, the laborer himself is actually turned into a mere marketable commodity, into a wage slave. It is true the modern wage slave, not like the serf or chattel slave, may choose, if he can, his master, but a master he must have, or starve. With the increasing concentration and consolidation of capital in gigantic combines, trusts, and monopolies, even this doubtful privilege of choosing the master is becoming illusory. The employer of labor, the capitalist, is not in business for his health. He buys labor power at the lowest possible price and sells the products of this labor power at the highest price possible. It is in the interest of the capitalist to apply labor power to production with the highest intensity possible.

The wage-worker must produce a higher value than that embodied in the wage he receives. He must produce *surplus value* for the benefit of his employer—the capitalist. The latter pockets the surplus value. Part of it he consumes and part

of it he reinvests in his business in order to buy more labor power and make more profit.

Capitalistic *property* is consequently *based not on the labor* of its actual owner, *but* on the labor of those who do not own any property except their labor power, *on the labor of exploited proletarians.*

Capitalism disintegrates the family of the proletrian, drives his daughter on the thorny path of sexual slavery, sends his child into the sweatshop and mill, breeds crime, and creates poverty and pauperism.

In order to comprehend the reason why and how the capitalistic state of society is maintained and tolerated by a race of feeling and reasoning beings, we have to examine the methods used by the ruling parasitic classes who keep the toiling masses in due obeisance and subjection.

The cardinal difference between man and animal, as far as the struggle for existence is concerned, consists in their respective mode of adaptation to the environment. Animals limit themselves, as a rule, to a passive adaptation to the environment. Men adapt to a great extent the environment to themselves—in fact, create an artificial environment to suit their purposes. Culture and civilization are mainly the results of this ability of men to be, to a considerable extent, the masters of their own destinies. A stage of culture favorable to the ever-increasing perfection of the artificial material environment is called progressive and vice versa.

The term artificial is, of course, not meant here as an entire opposite to the term "natural," but rather in the sense of *conscious,* purposely modified.

Men, for instance, invented cloth, houses,

stoves, etc., in order to protect themselves from the inclemencies of the weather. Cloth, houses, stoves, etc., are artificial, purposely modified, natural products; they are the creation of human ingenuity and form a part of the material environment that makes up our culture and civilization.

What are the psychological foundations of the creative genius of mankind?

The foundations of the creative genius of mankind are properties of the human mind. The human mind is always active in observing nature and its phenomena, in making general conclusions from these observations for guidance in the future activities. Since men learned to distinguish between their own self (ego) and the material environment, the not own self (non ego), they noticed that all natural processes take place in a certain way and manner. Where and when men succeeded in ascertaining exactly these conditions in any special case they can invariably predict or even reproduce the natural process artificially. In other words, observation leads to knowledge and knowledge to conscious creative work. By an exceedingly slow and painful process of mental growth men gradually arrive at the conclusion that mere passive observation of nature does not always lead to exact knowledge. Artificial experiments, experiments with a set purpose in view, were adopted. Nature answers direct questions, not revealing the whole truth, so men started to subject it to cross examinations.

The results of the observations, experiments and conclusions suggested to the human mind were gradually co-ordinated into a system called *"Science."*

As a civilizing factor science has no rival. Civilization is unthinkable without the knowledge of the immutable laws of nature, however crude and imperfect that knowledge may be. Science—perfected knowledge—is the most essential and solid foundation of culture and civilization. Knowledge is power to subject the material environment to human needs. Science is the strongest light at the disposal of men in their struggle for existence in the perplexing labyrinth of the universe. From the sociological point of view, science appears as the result of mind activity of countless generations of human beings, as the most precious inheritance of humankind from the past, as the concentrated and digested achievement of the collective mind of the entire human race during its existence on the globe. Being the result of the achievement of the collective human mind, science is the rightful heritage of the entire human race. Each human being is entitled to his full share in the benefits of science. This appears to be an indisputable postulate of modern ethics.

It is, however, a historical fact that the marvelous power and light of knowledge was, as it is at present, monopolized by the ruling classes and misused by them to the detriment of the toiling masses of the people. In ancient times sacerdotal castes, priestcraft, monopolized knowledge and exploited it in the interest of its own and of the military caste. In ancient Greece and Rome learned slaves were employed as tutors for the slaveholding free citizens. In the middle ages science was confined to the obscure seclusion of monasteries. In our modern time science is made subservient to the ruling classes by the

economic structure of society itself. The broad masses of the people are benefited by the application of science to useful arts indirectly and incidentally only, while the ruling plutocracy consciously and unscrupulously monopolizes the direct use and enjoyment of the power and light of science. The masses are kept, as far as is practicable, in the dense darkness and weakness of ignorance.

Our present industrial system in this manner, by condemning the toiling masses to ignorance, undermines the very foundation of culture and civilization. By depriving the children of the proletariat of their inalienable rights to knowledge and enlightenment, Capitalism slowly, but surely, tends toward barbarity.

Those children of the toiling masses, who, in spite of all impediments and obstacles in their way, by dint of perseverance and great self abnegation attain higher education, are compelled by the existing economic condition to submit their professionally trained minds and scientific erudition to the same direct exploitation by the parasitic classes of the predatory rich, as their humble brothers in the so-called lower walks of life. The intellectual proletariat is comparatively a great deal more exploited than the broader masses of laborers. The clerk, the teacher, the physician, the engineer, the chemist, and other professional men get on an average a great deal less in proportion for their high grade services, which demand years of careful study, special training and exclusive abilities, than the common laborer for his merely physical exertions.

According to the investigation of the United States Commissioner of Labor, the average earn-

ings of the professional men and women living in the slums of the four typical large cities of America—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—is as follows:

WEEKLY WAGES OR EARNINGS OF PROFESSIONALS.

In Baltimore—	
Males	$15.50
Females	9.02
In Chicago—	
Males	$15.30
Females	14.09
In New York—	
Males	$13.77
Females	11.80
In Philadelphia—	
Males	$13.70
Females	13.29

And the social status of the intellectual proletarian is correspondingly low. An illiterate millionaire occupies an immensely higher social position than the most eminent scientist who happens to be poor. In our parasitic state of society nothing is cheaper than human brains. *Education does not pay.* The most "successful" members of our present society are ignoramuses who claim that "education is a disqualification for business." This claim is substantiated by facts and observations. Indeed "business" is nowadays conducted on principles repulsive to any intelligent mind, to any man with more or less refined feelings. And yet, in spite of the fact that the intellectual proletariat is practically suffering a great deal more from the capitalistic system than the laboring class in general, there is a great deal less class consciousness to be met with among the educated workers than among the

uneducated laborers. The consciousness of the solidarity of interests is rapidly growing among the working masses, as is clearly demonstrated by the spread and development of trade-unionism. At the same time the intellectual proletarians stubbornly persist in remaining on the strictly individualistic or anarchistic plan of action, in the United States at least, if not over the world. The intellectual proletarians do not seem to be conscious of the fact that they form the upper strata of the exploited toiling masses. The distinct "esprit de corps," manifesting itself in different trades pursued by workingmen, is entirely lacking among the members of various so-called liberal professions. Those few professional men, engineers, chemists, or other professionals who succeed in getting into a position of employing men of their own specialty, instead of attempting to keep up the dignity and social status of their own calling, as a rule, do all in their power to underpay and overwork their assistants after the most approved style of the parasitic system under which we live. In this way we meet professional men who earn as much as street and floor sweepers in factories and shops. The intellectual proletarian is more inclined, as a rule, to serve as a tool of the exploiting capitalistic class, than the ordinary worker. The reason for this monstrous anomaly is apparent. The capitalistic, as well as any other social-economic system, has the inherent tendency to perpetuate itself. This self-perpetuation tendency is manifest in the spirit of the education given to the masses of the school children and to the overgrown children called adults through the medium of books, the periodical

press, the pulpit, the stage, the bar, and public arena in general. The unsophisticated laboring class is fortunate enough to imbibe less of the subtle poison of anarchistic philosophy and parasitic morals spread broadcast with lavish hands by the ruling parasitic class. Hence the more pronounced opposition to exploitation on the part of the working class proper.

The educated proletarian, however, was and is constantly saturated with a philosophy of life and system of conduct favorable to the interest of the exploiting classes.

The unsophisticated laborer is guided in his social economic relations by his common sense. The intellectual proletarian has his common sense obscured by all kinds of spiritual rubbish which he considers beyond and above criticism.

The system of education which he receives is calculated to train his mind and enrich his knowledge in a certain special direction, so as to prepare him to be a useful small cogwheel in the gigantic mechanicism of modern production. On two of the most vital points of human interest—religion (in the broadest term of the word) and social economic relations of man to man—the intellectual proletarian is not only left ignorant as a new-born babe, but he is taught from childhood to stunt or kill his critical faculties in the direction of revising the traditional views on the two points mentioned and receive these views implicitly. This accounts for the fact that we meet excellently informed and logically reasoning specialists in all lines of activity, who profess the most antediluvian views on human social-economic relations. This accounts for the fact that there is such a frightful incongruity between

our material and spiritual environment. From the cradle to the grave this incongruity persecutes us as a nightmare and makes us thoroughly miserable. Conventional lies, false statements of facts, wrong standards of life, sordid ideas and ideals and monstrous unrealities make up the bulk of the education we receive at school, through the medium of books, periodicals, the pulpit, the stage, the bar, the public arena. Children are taught deliberately the opposite of truth as it is known to adults. And then, when they reach maturity, they have to go through the agony of mind occasioned by this disenchantment, by the stern realities of life. Many of them are demoralized by the unexpected temptations of life and only very few have grit enough to *learn to forget* and to start to think for themselves.

Modern production is based on the strict application of the results of scientific research to the tasks of practical life. The means of production are controlled exclusively by the capitalistic class. Consequently the capitalistic class is interested, more than any other class in history, in the advancement of science. Hence the generosity with which capitalists endow institutions of learning. At the same time the capitalist class is deeply conscious that only popular ignorance keeps it in power. Therefore there exists the tendency to guard the searchlight of knowledge from the toiling masses. Hence the tendency to make science exclusive and to foster snobbishness among the students of the higher institutions of learning.

Andrew Carnegie, in a moment of frankness, made the following statement, or rather confes-

sion, in his address at the opening of the Institute of Technology at Hoboken:

"I had no inventive mind—simply a mind to use the inventions of others. I think a fitting epitaph for me would be, 'Here lies a man who knew how to get around him men cleverer than himself.' "

A fitting epitaph for the class of social parasites to which A. Carnegie belongs would be, "Here lies a class that knew how to appropriate the lion's share of the results of other people's toil and genius without giving them an equivalent for it."

The mammoth industries of capitalism have their own experimental laboratories where the methods of production are improved and rationalized.

The blighting influence of the commercial spirit of our age permeates to the very holy of holies of the temples of science, penetrates into colleges, universities and academies. Rich professors hire poor but talented young scientists and appropriate without scrupules their ideas and discoveries. Professional inventors hire scientifically trained proletarians and appropriate the results of their labor in the same manner as capitalists exploit their wage slaves. An all around stealing of ideas is considered as a matter of course in the demoralized "scientific world." The calling of a scientist is degraded in comparison with a common trade. Accordingly the spirit of gross commercialism and low-bred snobbishness rules in our higher institutions of learning. The very system of private endowment of institutions of learning by social parasites like Rockefeller and Carnegie is vicious and demoral-

izing in the extreme degree. It robs science of its independence and breeds toadyism and sycophancy. It turns over the source of spiritual enlightenment to the polluting influences of greedy plutocracy.

Under our present system many a genius plods along in the darkness of ignorance behind a plow or as a common city laborer, while many a dunce who was fortunate in the choice of his parents is wasting his physical strength in sports and riotous living as a nominal student of a university.

Dr. Felix Adler, the founder of the Ethical Culture movement, in his address on the occasion of laying the cornerstone of the new building of his society, said: "In the great cities our public schools are no longer in the full sense "common schools"—in the sense that they are common to all classes. In the poorer districts of great cities the public school is often very largely a class school, a poor school; elsewhere it is patronized by a part of the middle class and by the poor, but in increasing numbers the wealthy are no longer educating their children in the common schools, but in class schools, where they meet only members of "their own class." Thus the gulf between the social classes—the poor and the rich—which is wide enough at present, is getting wider and wider and the very foundation of our political democracy is being constantly undermined."

We know now what Capitalism, as a stage of civilization, is and how it manages to rule the unthinking multitudes in the interests of a class of nonproducers. We know that Capitalism

fosters pauperism and poverty of the broad masses of the people.

Let us now see and comprehend the forces that counteract capitalism and work for an advanced civilization, for a nobler culture, for a brighter future for humanity. These forces may be summarized as *the physical moment in social evolution.*

"For the poor ye have with you always," is the somewhat fatalistic statement of the Old and New Testaments. The new gospel attempted even to make a virtue out of the sad necessity of poverty of the masses in a parasitical state of society.

In the time of the Cæsars the Roman mob raised the slogan, *"Panem et circenses,"* i. e., "free bread and entertainment."

Hood's workingman says:

> *"No alms I ask, give me my task,"*
> Here are the arm, the leg,
> The strength, the sinews of a man
> *To work and not to beg."*

The modern proletarian does not see fatalistically the necessity of poverty under all social-economic conditions. He does not implicitly believe in the redeeming power of indigence. He considers it below his human dignity to clamor for public charity. He even fails to get enthusiastic at the idea of getting a chance to sell his labor power at the market price to some profit monger styled employer.

What *the modern proletarian demands* is neither more nor less than *full social-economic justice, industrial democracy, the entire product of his toil.*

Such was the trend of the evolution of the ethical conceptions among "the submerged tenth." This evolution was in strict accordance with the social-economic development.

In a primitive state of human consociation the means of production of the necessities of life are rather crude, the skill of the individual worker rather undeveloped. The struggle for existence must be severe. In such a state inadequate production of commodities, wealth underproduction, suggests to the physically strong, to the cunning and unscrupulous the expropriation of the physically weak and simple-minded by brute force or crafty stratagem. "To the victor belong the spoils" and "woe to the conquered!" were the fundamental moral precepts of the period of almost purely animal struggle for existence when Might was considered as identical with Right. This was the age when poverty appeared to be a permanent social institution and parasitism a normal mode of existence for the so-called higher classes or castes.

Poverty and social parasitism were and always are linked inseparably together as cause and effect, they are the opposite sides of the same medal of barbarity. Where there is a victorious social parasite there must be his victim—one of the poor. Social parasitism is considered as a mark of high distinction, while poverty is being looked down upon as a sign of despised weakness and meanness.

The abnormal mode of living indulged in by the parasitic classes, their luxury, ostentation, idleness, arrogance and general viciousness—all symptoms of degeneration—must of necessity arouse the indignation and aversion of pure-

minded but uncritical friends of the human race and lead them to the emotional but irrational idealization of poverty.

The instance of the Roman mob crying for bread and entertainment at public expense clearly demonstrates that poverty leads to degradation. Extremes meet here as elsewhere.

With the increasing development of the skill of the individual worker labor not only lost the stigma attached to it in the days of slavery, but gained in dignity. Hence the contempt with which Hood's laborer rejects charity and asks, "Give me my task." He prefers work with his own tools and hands to begging, in the proud consciousness of his manly labor-power and physical strength. The growing perfection of the tools of production and their monopolization by a class of non-producing profit-mongers called Capitalists transferred the center of gravity from the skilled workingman to the complex machinery. The tool of production gained ascendency over its maker and user. The dead mechanism subjugated its living, thinking and feeling creator and turned him into its insignificant appendage. The arm, the leg, the strength, the sinews of a man were replaced by metallic giants without blood, muscles, nerves or heart. Individual production was almost entirely superseded by socialized production. However the means of production not only were not socialized, but were monopolized by non-producers. The existence of private property in the means of production, under a system of socialized production is absurd. Indeed there must be a mutual harmony between the system of production and the form of ownership of the means of produc-

tion. An incongruity between the system of production and the mode of ownership of the means of production must necessarily lead to abnormal social-economic conditions. Abnormal social-economic conditions in their turn breed discontent among those who are compelled to carry the heavy burden of production and distribution of national wealth without getting their share of the wealth they produce and distribute.

The dissatisfaction of the toiling masses with their fate resulted in a critical revision of the ethical conception of the institution of property in general and the so-called *vested rights* of the privileged classes in particular.

This revision was accomplished on a thoroughly scientific and rational basis and lead to the following conclusions:

The commodities necessary to the civilized world represent natural products modified by human work. Work means energy applied to overcoming a resistance. For instance, a laborer who lifts a load overcomes the resistance caused by the attraction of the load to the earth. In order to accomplish this work the laborer has to spend the energy of his body, he has to waste a certain part of his muscles, sinews, tissues, nerves and blood. Every manufactured commodity represents therefore the transformed elements of the body or bodies of those who participated in its production. Work is consequently the incarnation of human energy in modified natural products. All men are children of Nature and are all equally entitled to its products as far as they do not embody human labor. Human labor, the energy applied by the laborer to the process of

modification of natural products, appears to be the actual ethical foundation of property. If one man alone toiled on the modification of a product of nature, or raw material, in order to produce a commodity, this commodity would be his inalienable individual property. If many participated in the process of producing a certain commodity—the last would represent their inalienable common property. Any other claim on property except work, labor or personal exertion is unethical and parasitical.

Our present social-economic system viewed in the light of modern ethics appears to be parasitical by its very nature.

In order to comprehend the nature of our capitalistic system we have to view it from two aspects, namely, as a system of production and as a stage of civilization.

As a system of production the capitalistic system represents the results of applied sciences, it is practically machine production on a more or less pronounced co-operative foundation, socialized production.

The monopolization of means of production by a non-producing class of profit mongers called Capitalists gives the second aspect of the capitalistic system and imparts its peculiarity to our stage of civilization.

Socialized production, with means of production owned by non-producers, is the brief definition of Capitalism.

The mode of production is thoroughly modern, while the form of ownership of the means of production appears as a survival of the previous stage of production, as an anachronism.

We have now to explain how this incongruity

between the advanced system of production and the belated mode of ownership of the means of production came about.

Production of commodities is a process dependent on the skill and knowledge of the producers. One happy idea, one great invention, may cause a rapid advance in the mode of production. A series of inventions and technical discoveries may revolutionize the methods of production in a comparatively brief period of time and change to a considerable extent the material environment.

The case is, however, entirely different with the psychical environment, the intellectual, emotional and ethical readjustment of social-economic interrelations between the various elements of society. The spiritual life of man being infinitely more subtle, more complex than his merely material activities, the psychical environment must naturally lag behind the economic development.

It is generally conceded that men are the product of their material environment. Many people, however, do not realize that men, as intelligent beings, in their turn exert a certain influence on their material environment and are therefore to a marked degree active factors in the shaping of their own destinies.

The tremendous complexity of forces which we call social laws have come down to us with the wisdom and ethical ideas of the past generations. Social forces are psychical forces, forming the superstructure of social-economic conditions.

Owing to mental inertia the psychical environment of the uncritical majority of one generation represents a survival of the superstructure of

material conditions of past generations. The dead rule the living.

Says Karl Marx in the "Communist Manifesto": "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life? What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of the ruling class. When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created and that the dissolution of the old ideas keep even pace with the dissolutions of the old conditions of existence."

Marx obviously speaks about the unthinking masses when he states that "the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of the ruling class." He, however, has in view the reasoning minority when he mentions "the elements of a new (society) created within the old society."

Marx may be correctly classed with the truly scientific modern school of psychological sociologists.

The so-called Spencerian school of sociologists may be termed "vulgar sociologists" in the same sense as Marx called the middle class economists (as for instance Roscher) "vulgar economists." The most brilliant American exponent of the psychological school of sociology, Lester F. Ward, is in all respects superior to Herbert Spencer as an unbiased scientist.

According to Herbert Spencer sociology is solely a descriptive science dealing with the status of society. According to Lester F. Ward sociology on the contrary is a purposive (teleological) science about social forces.

"*Dynamic Sociology aims at the organization of happiness.* Society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon *Mind,* which is *the highest property of matter.* The dynamic department of psychology becomes also that of sociology the moment we rise from the individual to society. The social forces are the psychic forces as they operate in the collective state of men. *The organization of feeling is the central task of sociology.*"

These few quotations will suffice to show the trend of the psychological school of sociology and its conception of social evolution as a conscious dynamic process, in which the human mind is the directive force, a conception that is in perfect harmony with K. Marx's celebrated materialistic conception of history.

The fundamental social force is the instinct of self preservation, a corollary of the law of conservation of energy, the desire to live as extensively and intensively as possible. In order to satisfy this instinct man has to adapt himself to the material environment or change the environment, as far as practicable, to suit his needs. The higher man stands on the evolutionary ladder, the more his conscious modification of the material environment predominates over the passive unconscious or semiconscious adaptation to it. The civilized man, to a certain extent, creates an artificial environment by the aid of his mind. The mind,

not physical force, is the chief characteristic of mankind. Following cunningly the line of least resistance man advanced from mere brute existence stage by stage; from cannibalism to slavery, from slavery to serfdom, from serfdom to wage dependence, under the system of Capitalistic or machine production. Each of these stages of social evolution had its peculiar material as well as psychical environment. By sheer force of inertia the psychical environment of slavery survived the material environment that justified the institution of slavery as an advanced stage in comparison with cannibalism. Not alone did the numerically insignificant slaveholders of the Southern States kept up slavery long after that system outlived its utility, they could not have kept it up if they had not been backed up by the surviving psychical environment of slavery. The same applies to serfdom and the sociological side of Capitalism, the wage dependence, which creates social economic parasitism of the classes, and material and spiritual impoverishment of the masses.

The mission of the thinking minority in history consists in the modification of the psychical environment of the broad unreasoning masses of the people to correspond to the advanced material environment.

In our stage of civilization this mission consists in the propagation or broad and deep dissemination of collectivistic ideas and ideals and the extermination of individualistic or anarchistic proclivities. The watchword of the advance-guard of a higher civilization is not "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost," but the brotherly principle "each for all and all for each." Their ideal is not competition, but emulation and

co-operation. Their economic ideal is co-operation and economic equality, and production for the satisfaction of human needs, but not for profit. The co-operative commonwealth will have no place for either millionaires or paupers, neither for exploiters nor exploited. Professor Simmel says, "The real significance of the materialistic conception of history is contained in the fact that it was the first attempt to explain history by means of a *psychological principle.* If hunger did not cause pain, if it were not, besides having its physiological function, a spiritual event, then it would never set free the events that we call history. The general synthesis that shall unite all the currents of existence, as known to us, into consistent ideas, that shall convert all external reality into spiritual values, and satisfy all the needs of the spirit with the results of knowledge—this great synthesis we still await."

Professor Albion Small, of Chicago, a very conservative man, who never misses an opportunity to draw a sharp line of demarcation between sociology and socialism, says:

"We have to find out what men want, why they want it, in what proportion they want it to other things, that themselves, and others want, how the wants depend upon each other, how association is related to those wants (the real passage from psychology to sociology), and how to appraise the same in settling upon a theory of the conduct of life. *The center of gravity of the newer sociology is the interest which moves the machinery of association.* Everything else becomes secondary. *The central reality in association is the evolution and correlation of interests.*" (Science N. S. V. XV 383, p. 706.)

The demands of the modern proletariat aiming at the abolition of the social economic parasitism of the classes and of the poverty of the masses are, as we see, nothing else than the legitimate product of social evolution, the correlation of interests not of single class only, but of the entire human race.

The modern proletariat movement is a logical outcome of social evolution in general. Since man succeeded in artificial modification of his material environment, since he succeeded in subjecting nature to the dictation of his will guided by mind, the animal struggle for existence between single human individuals gradually lost its sharp sting. The primeval man was a gregarious being. The progressive development of the human mind led step by step to a relaxation of extreme individualism and a corresponding strengthening of the dormant social and racial instincts. The passing relations between the representatives of the opposite sexes deepened into lifelong attachment and mutual affection. The human family—the prototype of the human race, the nucleus of the modern civilized society, the fundamental social unit, was differentiated. The attachment to progeny on the part of the parents proportionally increased and lead to the extension of the period of infancy, devoted to the task of preparing the coming generations for the emergencies of social life and strife. However inimical the relations between single individuals were at the period when the family shaped itself as a permanent social institution, the mutual relations between the members of the family were more or less friendly and intimate. The fierce animal struggle for existence was

eliminated from family life and substituted by mutual helpfulness. The family formed a social oasis of "peace and good will" in the anarchic desert of general hostility, war and strife. The struggle for existence between single individuals gradually merged into a struggle between the fundamental social units, the families.

The powerful civilizing agency of family life worked steadily in the direction of contracting the field of the animal struggle for existence, and extending the domain of civilization, mutual helpfulness and co-operation. The family grew into a clan, the clan developed into a tribe and so on and on, from the most simple to the most complex social aggregate. This process of consolidation of the human family is going on in our day and expresses itself in the political as well as economic field, in the growing consciousness of the solidarity and even identity of the interests of larger and larger aggregates of men. The purest and most universal expression of this consciousness is the spreading conviction *that the interests of the proletariat and the interests of the entire human race are identical.*

The class consciousness of the modern proletariat, rightly understood, is nothing else but *Race-consciousness.*

Race-consciousness was, is, and will always remain *the highest ideal of humanity,* the ideal of all those who suffered, labored and died in the battle for the great cause of humanity from time immemorial to our days.

The modern proletarian movement finds its clearest and truest expression in Socialism.

Is socialism only a noble dream? Or is it a science built on the impregnable rock of the ma-

terialistic conception of history? Is it a panacea against all the social evils of the day? Is it a philosophy of life, a stage of culture and civilization, a class struggle? Why is the Socialistic movement subdivided into so many parts, factions and sects, often combatting each other bitterly?

These and similar questions involuntarily suggest themselves to every intelligent observer of the modern proletarian movement. The key to the solution of the problems indicated above is concealed in the complexity and many-sidedness of the movement.

Different aspects of the social economic evolution present themselves to different minds, according to their peculiarities and predilections. In order to have a closer and true conception about socialism it is necessary to view it from as many angles of vision as possible. Truth cannot be monopolized, and no particular school of socialism has a right to claim for itself infallibility. Any honest conviction, any sincere opinion on this, as on any other subject of human interest, has to be met with the spirit of broad tolerance and criticised in the light of science and reason.

As a philosophy of life, socialism is the modern expression of Race-consciousness (in opposition to Anarchism or Individualism). It is based on the conviction that the interest of each man, woman, and child is served best by the advancement of the general welfare of humanity. This principle forms the foundation of international socialism. It is equivalent to the recognition of the perfect solidarity of interests of all men. The welfare of the proletariat is identical with the welfare of the entire human race. The final aim of the Socialistic movement consists in the

emancipation of humanity from the despotic sway of economic power of one class over the other. The classical call, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" is a call to a united self defence of the overwhelming majority against the tyranny of a ridiculously small minority of exploiters of human toil. As a constructive power socialism is of great importance, inasmuch as it presents all the results of scientific research, of human reason, and noble aspirations to the services of social-economic advancement. In the past and at present the social economic evolution was mainly, if not exclusively, an organic and consequently unconscious process. Constructive socialism has in view the introduction of rational consciousness into social economic life, with the purpose of the organization of happiness on earth. It aims at the emancipation of humanity from the fetishism of wealth; from the worship of Mammon. As a factor in the advancement of culture and civilization socialism excels all others. It is in perfect harmony with the modern methods of production. The mode of appropriation has to be adapted to the mode of production. "Only from that moment," says F. Engels, "will the social process set into motion by them produce the results desired by them in a larger and larger measure. *It is the leap of humanity from the domain of necessity into the realm of Freedom.*"

The modern phase of socialism expounded by Rodbertus, Marx and Lassalle may be most correctly designated by the term *Critical* as opposed to the preceding stage of emotional Socialism. (St. Simon, Fourier, Cabet and others.)

Emotional socialism developed into critical so-

cialism and the last will serve as a foundation for constructive socialism.

Constructive socialism will have to pursue a policy of adaptation to existing conditions in the very midst of the present civilization, clearing the ground, utilizing carefully the material at hand. One of these conditions is the existence of classes in present society, of distinct strata of people pursuing their class interests, or what they consider as their class interests, in opposition to the interests of the rest of humanity. This class consciousness is especially strongly developed among the members of the exploiting class and comparatively weakly among the exploited masses.

Marx, as a sociological thinker and economist, exposed the absurdities, incongruities and injustice permeating the class ridden system of parasitism called capitalism. He invited the proletarians of all countries, of all nations, to unite against the class-rule of the capitalists, for the purpose of destroying class-rule forever.

According to his teachings, classes, as creations of certain irrational social economic conditions, will have to disappear along with the conditions that called them into life. The lasting, essential element of Marx's theory of society consists in the necessity of destruction of all social economic inequalities, in the elimination of the economic struggle for existence, from human society, and its replacement by co-operation and mutual helpfulness. F. Engels, in his introduction to the "Communist Manifesto," said: "The proletariat cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class, the bourgeoise, without at the same time and once for all emancipating society at large (the human race) from all

exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggle."

A clearer statement of the very essence of socialism, as the highest ideal of the human race, of Race-consciousness, can hardly be conceived. How truly F. Engels voiced the ideas of Marx may be gathered from the following quotations from the Communist Manifesto:

"If the proletariat, during its contest with the bourgeoise (middle class, capitalists) is compelled by force of circumstances to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class-antagonism, and of class generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class. In place of the old bourgeois (capitalistic) society with its classes and class-antagonism, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. * * *

" * * * All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the selfconscious, independent movement of the immense majority. National differences and antagonism between peoples (nations) are daily more and more vanishing. The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action of the leading civilized countries at least is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation

by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to other nations will come to an end."

The history of humanity may be, to an extent at least, looked upon as the record of struggles between different classes for supremacy and power. The feudal class, for instance, was conquered by the middle class (the bourgeois), which now rules the world through the power of organized material wealth. The so-called "Great French Revolution" is considered to be the line of demarcation between the rule of the feudal and the rule of the middle class. The last won its battle with the aid of the propertyless fourth class, the proletariat. The proletariat played the part of the ram with the aid of which the fortress of feudalism was battered down into dust. When the fortress was demolished the ram was left to its own destinies. Political liberty (not freedom), political equality (in the abstract) and fraternity (of the Cain variety) gained by the price of torrents of proletarian blood, were turned by the middle class into means for the enhanced enslavement of the toiling masses. In modern political democracies the property-less class, the proletariat, is used as voting cattle.

There is nothing left to the proletariat except to fight its oppressor and exploiter with his own weapon and on his own ground. In order to be successful in this struggle the proletariat must cultivate class-consciousness, which does not mean class-exclusiveness or class hatred.

The struggle of the middle class was supposed at the time when the struggle was going on to be in the interest not of a new exploiting class, but

rather in the interest of all humanity. This conviction imparted the inspiration to noble deeds of self sacrifice on the part of the great actors of the French Revolution. The middle class, after its selfish class interests were satisfied, became philistinized and conservative.

The struggle between the proletariat and the middle class capitalism is of an eminently broader and deeper significance than the struggle of any other classes in the history of humanity.

It is a class struggle only if viewed from the surface.

As a matter of fact it is the struggle of the entire human race against class-rule and exploitation of men by men.

Socialism is the movement of the human race having in view the reconstruction of our parasitic social economic institutions on principles of reason, justice and love.

That Capitalism has outlived its utility and must be succeeded by Collectivism or Socialism is admitted even by conservative professors of universities endowed by plutocrats, as for instance Professor Oscar L. Triggs of the Chicago University.

In his article "Industrial Feudalism—and After" he summarizes his views on social economic conditions of our time as follows:

(1) An industrial order is now being established which corresponds in all essential respects with what is known in political history as feudalism.

(2) The political order, so far as it is shaped by the same individuals who control industry, partakes also of the nature of feudalism; hence

the recrudescence in the United States of the principles of Hamilton and the dominance of the Republican party.

(3) When the feudalistic tendency culminates in the establishment of a centralized control of all industries, then the conscious and deliberate appropriation of that power of the people will begin, till work becomes free and the worker self directive.

(4) Biology and psychology testify to the ultimate triumph of the principle of self-activity. In other words, all the forces of national evolution are on the side of the people. (Wilshire's Magazine, March, 1903.)

In order to comprehend how the psychical environment is being adjusted to the changed material environment, it is necessary to take into consideration the psychology of the masses of humanity.

The masses of humanity at any given time, at any period of history, may be roughly divided into three distinct classes: the philistines, the kickers and the thinkers. The philistines make up the overwhelming majority of the people; the kickers are always in the minority, and the thinkers form the exceptional element of human society.

Who are the philistines? They are the people living according to the wisdom of past generations, according to tradition, authority, precedents. The philistines have no desire to reason analytically, critically. They do not care to know, but are anxious to believe. They are fatalists by inclination. To them the world is at a standstill. Their motto is "It was, is and will be exactly the same at all times since creation to

the crash of doom." They are spiritually asleep and hate to be disturbed from their slumber. Stupidly good natured under normal conditions, they may turn furious when forcibly aroused from their mental lethargy by extraordinary events. Once aroused they may turn dangerous as wild beasts and commit any atrocities. They make up the mob of violent popular upheavals called revolutions.

Who are the kickers? They are the people who feel instinctively that the wisdom of past generations, called tradition, authority, precedent, in the course of time outlives its utility and turns into folly. They do not have the capacity for critical or analytical reasoning, but do not show any aversion to independent thought. They are rather anxious to know and at the same time ready to believe. They are not fatalists, they feel instinctively that the world is always changing, that past, present and future are not identical. They are half asleep and half awake spiritually, and do not object to being aroused from their slumber once in a while and for a short period of time. Once aroused they form an active element in historical events and drag after themselves the usually inert masses of philistines. The kickers are not satisfied with the material conditions around them; they vaguely realize that these conditions may be and ought to be changed, modified or revolutionized, but they do not possess any clearness of vision.

Who are the thinkers? They are the people who clearly see that each generation has to live in accordance with its own wisdom and in conformity with the ever changing material environment. Tradition, authority, precedent, are considered

by them as so many fetiches of a barbaric past. They are able and willing to reason critically, analytically, and trust only in the testimony of their senses and logic. They draw a sharp line of demarcation between the knowable and unknowable and do not trouble themselves about the last. They are determinists in philosophy. To them the world appears as a perpetual change and transformation. They are thoroughly alive spiritually. They know and know that they know. They form at all times the ferment, the leaven of social life, the advance guard of humanity. its controlling and directing element. They supply consciousness and clear vision to the kickers, and, through the medium of the last, drag the philistine masses forward and onward on the highway of progress.

In our time of general unrest and dissatisfaction there are many transitory variations of the just characterized three main social types, there are people who are rather hard to classify, as they possess some features of one and some of another type at once. As a clear distinct type, the middle class reformers of our time are kickers, Socialists are thinkers. And yet we meet philistines among Socialists and once in a while thinkers among reformers.

We will, however, ignore here the exceptions and try to point out the differences between middle-class reformers and socialists.

Middle-class reformers, as a rule, do not seem to realize the immense complexity and strict lawfulness of social economic life and activity. They believe in the miracle working power of paper legislation. They fail to see that it is futile to even attempt to introduce legislative measures

(however apparently salutary to the oppressed classes) which are out of joint with the entire system of the prevailing social-economic institutions; they fail to realize that such measures, even if introduced and passed, would have necessarily to remain either inoperative or even injurious to the very class they were intended to benefit. Reformers usually concentrate their attention exclusively on some single symptom of social economic disease, and claim that all that is necessary for the restoration of social economic health is to make that particular symptom to disappear. The single taxers, for instance, concentrate all their attention on one single mode of exploitation—rent. Currency reformers see but one source of social economic evils—speculation with the medium of exchange. Direct legislationists believe that if every citizen should have his say, be it wise or otherwise, on all matters of importance to the State, the millennium would be an accomplished fact, etc., etc. The single taxers do not comprehend that it is absurd to insist on the nationalization of one object of plutocratic monopoly, the soil, while defending "vested rights" on other objects of plutocratic monopoly, namely means of production in general. Direct legislationists fail to realize that capitalism has no use for enlightened citizenship, but assiduously cultivates voting cattle. The currency reformers fail to grasp the idea that it is of paramount importance to introduce rational and just economic relations in general before attempting to modify the medium of exchange, that speculation is one of the most essential methods of capitalistic economics. The prohibitionists fail to consider that a state of society based on ex-

ploitations of human labor cannot get along without intoxicants. Honest and sincere reformers have nothing to expect from Capitalism.

Socialism is the reform of all reforms. It is rather inclusive than exclusive. It contains all that is of lasting value in bona fide reform movements and vastly more than that on a deeper, broader and sounder foundation than the average reformers dare to dream of.

Socialism for instance demands together with the single-taxers the nationalization of the soil, but at the same time demands the nationalization of all means of production and distribution. Socialist platforms contain a direct legislation plank. Under collective ownership and operations of all the means of production and transportation, speculation with the medium of exchange, as any speculation in general, would be impossible. Socialism does not confuse symptoms of social disease with the disease itself. It strikes at the root of all social evils, exploitations of men by men, parasitism. It does not pretend to change human nature. It proposes only to do away with the very incentive for exploitation of men by men by substituting collective instead of private ownership of the means of production and distribution, by inaugurating economic democracy without which political democracy is a snare and delusion. Socialism, as a primarily humanitarian movement, deserves the interest and sympathy of all true lovers of mankind. Socialism stands for brotherly co-operation of all the members of the human family for the purpose of exploiting the inexhaustible treasures of their common mother, nature. It stands for emulation instead of competition, for the survival of the best in-

stead of the most cunning and unscrupulous, for the elevation instead of degeneration of the human type. The question now arises: How will Socialism, as materialized in the co-operative commonwealth of the future, be inaugurated?

Far as we may penetrate with our spiritual vision into the gray vista of hoary antiquity of the human race, we clearly distinguish two cardinal social forces contending for supremacy. These social forces are, on one side, the will of the broad masses of the people and on the other side the brute force in the hands of a ruling minority.

At the dawn of civilization the brute forces reigned supreme, while the will of the common people was but vaguely expressed. With the growing spiritual development of the masses, however, the physical force concentrated in the hands of the organized ruling minority was more and more counter-balanced by the popular will or public opinion. The gradual pacification of European international relations with the development of democratic political institutions is a fact that cannot escape the attention of the clear sighted student of modern history. Wars have become scarce since the second part of the last century, at least among civilized nations. The bullet is kept in check by the ballot in international affairs. At the same time European nations are compelled by the ruling classes to spend their very substance for the maintenance of an armed peace. The European continent, figuratively speaking, bristles with bayonets, glares with the barbaric splendor and offensive ostentation so characteristically peculiar to standing bodies of scientifically trained and artistically

drilled professional wholesale assassins called military men. The science and art of wholesale murder called war has reached in modern times a stage of perfection calculated to delight the heart of the most unrelenting enemy of the human race. Militarism is celebrating odious orgies in the two most civilized countries of the European continent, Germany and France. The recent policy of the government of the United States shows clearly some tendency towards militarism.

The ruling classes are getting uneasy. The growing intelligence of the toiling masses appears as a menace to the power of the parasitic minority. It is against "the internal enemy", the "dangerous classes", that the ruling parasitic minority prepares its murderous cohorts of hired wholesale assassins called armies and militias. At the same time the proletariat, the toiling masses, remain unarmed and unskilled in the arts of war.

There is the danger. The parasitic classes are ready to drown in torrents of blood of the proletariat any serious attempt on the part of the last to proclaim the co-operative commonwealth. As in the case of international relations—it is the ballot alone that can keep in check the bullet. The proletariat has to realize that its only salvation consists in the intelligent use of civic rights before it will be too late. The proletariat has to realize that its only salvation consists in independent, class-conscious political action. It has to realize that it cannot expect anything good from the old capitalistic parties and everything from their own Socialist party. The old political parties presented to the working classes tokens

of their devotions to the interests of the proletariat in Homestead, Pullman and the bull-pens of the anthracite region. The old parties tolerate child labor, sweat shops, convict labor. The old parties are honeycombed with demagogic jugglery and political corruption. The old parties Christianize and civilize Filipinos by water cures. The workingmen have to realize that to vote for the old parties means to vote for the perpetuation of wage slavery, for the degradation of the noble human being to the level of a witless beast of burden.

Economic or Social Democracy means organized peace, the rule of the will of the people expressed by the ballot; it means the relegation of brute force in the state affairs to the relics of the barbaric past.

The struggle between the survival of the barbaric past and the ideals of the future, between the will and interest of the toiling masses and the power of the exploiters is going on before our eyes.

There is a constant war going on between Labor and Capital. The cause of that class struggle between the producers of all material wealth on one and the owners of all the means of production and distribution on the other side is not generally known. The economic interests of these two classes of contemporary society are directly opposed to each other. The toilers strive to retain as much of the product of their labor as it is possible under the prevailing social economic conditions. The owners of the means of production and distribution, in their turn, endeavor to appropriate as much of the product of

the toil of their wage-slaves as they may succeed in doing.

The relations between the modern producer and his master, between the proletarian and the capitalist, are regulated chiefly by the prevailing social economic conditions, expressed and embodied in the political institutions controlled and directed by the ruling class. The political institutions of a country make up in their entirety what we briefly call the State.

The class that succeeds in getting control of the State must of necessity be in power to modify social economic conditions to suit best its class interests. That class gains the power to dictate the terms to all other classes of the nation and may enforce submission to its will in the name and by the authority of the State. Political power and economic power supplement each other. The ruling classes naturally use their economic power as a means to acquire and retain political power and then use the last as a means to increase the first. On the other hand, political dependence leads inevitably to economic dependence.

There can be no actual political equality without economic democracy, or social democracy.

The conclusions suggested by these general considerations may be applied directly to the relations between Capital and Labor in the United States.

Who actually controls our National, State and Municipal administrations? Who spends millions of dollars on political campaigns? Who are the actual masters of our legislative and executive, our judiciary and military institutions? Who owns the entire press, who inspires the pul-

pit, who controls our institutions of learning? Who are the real commanders of our army and navy? To put these questions means to answer them. The Capitalists capture the State for all there is in it, and mainly for the social economic power it gives them over the voting cattle, the nominally free citizens of the United States. Both old Capitalistic parties grossly flatter these nominal citizens and promise them great things before election. After election the same "fellow citizens" who voted into power the representatives of one or the other capitalistic parties are neglected, bulldozed and maltreated.

The average American proletarian fails to see the connection between his "job" and his "ballot", between economics and politics. He will, however, have to open his eyes in this connection before he may expect to improve his conditions materially and lastingly.

As long as the capitalists control our National, State and Municipal administration through the medium of any or both of the old parties this administration will be managed in direct violation of the rights of labor. As long as capitalists will have a chance to spend millions on influencing the "voting cattle" in national and local political campaigns the political state will be appropriated by them and their hired servants, the professional politicians.

As long as the capitalists will make and execute laws the laboring class will be forced to break laws and be punished for doing it. As long as the capitalists remain the actual commanders of our armies and navy these tremendous physical forces will be used for the exter-

mination of "riotous strikers" and conquests of new markets.

As long as the capitalists own the press, the pulpit, the bar, the educational institutions, generations after generations will be trained in a spirit directly inimical to the toiling masses.

In order to have at least a ghost of a show of success in their struggle against private capitalism the proletariat must fight with weapons just as efficient as those of their adversaries, must meet the enemy on its own ground of independent class-conscious and race-conscious action. The laboring class must strike at the ballot box for their own party, the Socialist party. By capturing the political power the proletariat will be enabled to make and execute its own laws and turn the United States into a gigantic labor union. The transition from Capitalism to Socialism will then be a peaceful political change (*coup d'état*) instead of a bloody civil war.

Socialism, after the co-operative commonwealth is inaugurated, proposes to abolish all economic class privileges, to introduce a new era of civilization, an era of peace and good will to all men, women and children, to establish the supreme authority of the will of the toiling masses, of the ballot, to abolish forever the reign of the brute force of the bullet. Under socialism, poverty and parasitism, these Siamese twins of the harlot of Capitalism, will have no place. There will be no millionaires and no paupers.

The humanizing, pacifying influence of socialism is being felt even now in Germany and France.

During the excitement of the Franco-Prussian war, when jingoism and race hatred reached their

climax, the German and French socialists were the only ones who remained cool headedly and warm heartedly on the high ground of humanitarian principles of brotherly love, the only ones who had the courage to protest most emphatically against the fratricidal war among German and French proletarians, instigated by and in the interests of the parasitic classes.

The democratizing influence of Socialism was and is now demonstrated in France.

When the French middle class republic was in danger of being destroyed by the reactionary elements of the feudal aristocracy, the church and plutocracy, backed by an army organization rotten to the very core, putrid with moral corruption and reeking with sensual filth, the socialist stepped manfully to the front and saved the ballot from the bullet. When this unholy trinity of the scions of feudalism, plutocracy and militarism, in order to cover its crimes and atrocities, accused and punished an innocent man, the socialists again saved the honor of their nation by exonerating the innocent man and unmasking the actual perpetrators of the heinous crime of treason.

The tyrannical proclivities of the loquacious Emperor of Germany are kept in check not by the weak-kneed middle class liberals, but by the vigorous opposition of the sturdy Social Democratic party. The encroachment upon popular rights on the part of the feudal aristocracy of Prussia, the agrarians, meets its strongest opposition from the social democrats. It is the Social Democratic Party of Germany that exposes the moral rottenness of the parasitic classes and systematically champions the interests of the exploited masses.

The most conservative scientists like Prof. Mommsen and others testify on their own accord to it publicly and advise the people to vote for the only political party in Germany, that means well with the people and has the moral stamina to defend right against might. It is significant enough and augurs well for the future co-operative commonwealth that socialists form the backbone of the French bourgeois republic and preserve the liberties of the German middle class against the onslaughts of the surviving remnants of feudalism. Doing this the party of the proletariat is true to the traditions of the glorious past of the class it represents. Not the middle class, not the bourgeois, vanquished feudalism. With the touching *naiveté* of a young, good-natured giant the proletariat left the fruit of his victory in the hands of the rapacious middle class. When in the possession of political power the middle class allied itself with the former foe, the remnants of the feudal aristocracy, against the proletariat. The proletariat of Europe profited by the lesson of history and organized itself into an independent political socialistic party, serving as an advance guard of the world wide international socialist movement to guard the ballot from the bullet.

Approximately similar conditions prevail in the United States. The abolition of African slavery was accomplished in the interests of white wage slave-holders of the North. The civil war was a struggle between the aristocracy of the South and the middle class of the North.

The same political party that was instrumental in the abolition of chattel slavery gave ascendency to Caucasian wage slavery, and is turned now into a conservative power in the United States.

The Democratic party received its death blow at the moment it identified itself with African chattel slavery. Since that moment it has turned into a reactionary power in the United States. It lost its grip on the current events of the age, it failed to adjust itself to the new social economic conditions and ceased to represent any vital principles. Astute politicians like Mark Hanna are clear sighted enough to recognize and candidly admit that the battle royal between the modern wage slave-holders, the capitalists, and the proletariat will be waged between the Republican and Socialistic parties.

Meanwhile the Republican party has already stepped in the footprints of its predecessors, the Democratic party. The Republican party has identified itself with the cause of wage-slavery and will be compelled by the victorious march of the party of the proletariat, the Socialist party, to take the back seat occupied now by the expiring Democratic party.

The Socialist party, the party of the toiling masses, is destined to complete the work begun by the abolitionists and is bound to turn into a ruling power in the United States in the near future. The old abolitionists fought for the emancipation of African slaves; *the new abolitionists, the Socialists, are fighting for the abolition of all kinds of slavery, for the abolition of parasitism and poverty.* The gigantic strides made by the vast capitalistic consolidations (trusts, monopolies), the adventurous imperialistic colonial policy of the United States, the growth of militarism and many other events could not fail to advance civic education among the masses, could not fail to open the eyes of the

most apathetic philistines to the dangers of approaching plutocratic feudalism.

As a result we see and feel that Socialism is in the air. The vote cast during the last election for the Socialist party reached about 300,000.

The following figures show the marvelous growth of Socialism all over the world:

AUSTRALIA.	
1895	90,000
1897	750,000
BELGIUM.	
1894	334,500
1898	543,324
1900	463,000
DENMARK.	
1872	315
1884	6,805
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,098
1895	25,019
1898	32,000
1900	43,285
FRANCE.	
1885	30,000
1888	91,000
1892	800,000
1898	1,000,000
GERMANY.	
1867	30,000
1871	101,927
1874	351,670
1877	486,843
1878	437,158
1881	311,961
1884	599,990
1887	767,128
1890	1,427,008
1893	1,786,738
1898	2,125,000
1903	3,100,000
GREAT BRITAIN.	
1895	55,000
1902	350,000
HOLLAND.	
1901	39,000
ITALY.	
1893	20,000
1895	76,400
1897	134,496
1900	215,841
NORWAY.	
1901	7,013
SERVIA.	
1895	55,000
SPAIN.	
1893	7,000
1895	14,000
1897	28,000
1901	25,000
SWEDEN.	
1902	48,000
SWITZERLAND.	
1890	13,500
1893	29,822
1896	36,468
1901	100,000
UNITED STATES.	
1890	13,704
1891	16,552
1892	21,512
1893	25,666
1894	30,020
1895	34,869
1896	36,275
1897	55,550
1898	91,749
1900	135,770
1902	about 300,000

The rate of increase of the Socialistic vote indicates a marvelous growth of public consciousness.

The question now arises: will history repeat itself literally? Will the abolition of parasitism and poverty, closely connected with Capitalism and wage slavery, be brought about by a bloody civil war just as the abolition of chattel slavery, or will it be accomplished peacefully by the ballot?

There seems to be one factor in the modern abolition movement called Socialism, that rather augurs a pacific solution of the problem.

The abolition of chattel slavery was accomplished in a contest between two factions of the same race in the interests of a new class of slaveholders called Capitalists. The slaves themselves belonged to a different and lower race, that took but a small part in the struggle for their own emancipation.

The abolition of wage slavery is in the interest of the entire human race, of economic democracy and true freedom. The toiling masses form the overwhelming majority of the people and voters. If the wage slaves only waken to the consciousness of the solidarity of their interests and power, if the proletarians will make up their minds to express their will by votes for their own political party, the victory may be, must be, a peaceful one.

If, however, the wage workers will stubbornly refuse to take part in independent political action, they will gradually be disfranchised as the negroes in the South were, and the bullet will kill the ballot. One part of the proletariat called soldiers will be ordered to shoot into uncon-

ditional submission to the plutocratic feudal lords the rest of the proletariat called laborers, while the lords themselves will rub their hands and look on in fiendish glee.

To avoid this the proletarian movement must do an immense amount of educational work; it must appeal to the brains and hearts of men; it must use as weapons exact knowledge, critical thought, ideas and ideals. As educators in the most comprehensive sense of the word the leaders of the modern abolition movement must exercise a great deal of patience, tolerance and forbearance.

First of all, and above all, however, they must possess the courage of their convictions and never cease their educational crusade till their mission is fulfilled and parasitism and poverty are no more. With the gentle Quaker poet and singer of the old abolition movement let us say:

"Friend of the poor!—go on—
Speak for the truth and right!
Onward—though hate and scorn
Gloom round thee as the night.
Speak—at each word of thine,
Some ancient fraud is riven,
And through its rents of ruin shine
The sunbeams and the heaven!

"Speak—for thy voice will be
Welcome in each abode
Where manhood's heart and knee
Are bended but to God;
Where honest bosoms hold
Their holy birthright well;
Where Freedom spurns at Mammon's gold;
Where *Man is not to sell.*

"Speak for the poor man's cause—
For labor's just reward—

For violated law
Of Nature and of God!
* * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * *
Speak—thunder in Oppression's ear,
Deliverance to the *slave!*

"Ay, speak—while there is time,
For all a freeman's claim,
Ere thought becomes a crime,
And Freedom but a name!
While yet the Tongue and Pen
And Press are unforbid
And we dare to feel and act as man—
Speak— as our fathers did!

"The land we love ere long
Shall kindle at thy call;
Falsehood and *charter'd* Wrong
And legal Robbery, fall:
The proud shall not combine—
The *secret* counsel cease—
And underneath his sheltering vine
Shall labor dwell in peace!

"Perish shall all which takes
From Labor's board and can!
Perish all which makes
A Spaniel of the Man!
With freshened courage, then,
On to the glorious end—
Ever the same as thou has been—
The poor man's fastest friend!"

SUPPLEMENT

JESUS OR MAMMON?

BY

J. FELIX

"I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, make straight the way of the Lord."

Crying aloud against the blasphemy of those who devour the exploited laborer, and for a pretense make long prayers and give alms in His name! Crying bitterly from a wilderness of contradictions against a society which, teaching the young in the doctrines of the Redeemer that it is more blessed to serve than be served, to give than to receive, yet supports a system under which those who will not devour must chose to be devoured! Crying piteously to those who profess His religion of love to come boldly forth and help make the paths straight, that love may walk without brutality and lead humanity to that kingdom of God, where love may be a living law instead of a dead letter. Will ye never know the Master's meaning when He warned you against offending the little ones? Will ye never perceive that when ye teach a child to love neighbor as self, in honor to prefer one another, "that all these things shall be added," that righteousness and truth and honesty of dealing are sure paths to

happiness and success in life and then push that innocent soul out into a world of greed where money is power, where every path is closed to those who try to practice what you teach; will ye never learn that in doing this ye give mortal offense to His lambs? Can ye not see that only by throwing all your energies into the effort to do away with conditions which make a Christian life a practical impossibility can you escape the terrible sentence of the *children's* Christ? It were better ye had a millstone tied to your necks and ye were even cast into the sea where it is deepest. Come, brethren, let us reason together. Do you not, fellow Christian, dread for your children and all posterity that which has been your fate? Surely not *all* who claim to follow "in His steps" are despicable hypocrites! Surely my brothers and sisters of the faith are all as honest and sincere as am I. That being so, they must suffer as I do. They, too, must feel at war with themselves. They, too, must feel lone and weary and heartsick at their vain endeavors to live the Christ life. Surely I am only a son of man and not the only son of man to feel the horror of subjection to conditions which make His way a practically impossible way. To be sure He said that there would be terrible suffering and many bleeding hearts and estrangements of kindred for His sake and the coming of His kingdom. Oh, but He also made a promise. He never said that poor humanity must forever be at war and suffer everlastingly. He bade us make straight the crooked paths. He commissioned us to remove all obstacles. We are to overcome Mammon and the greedy horde of his worshippers. We are to clear away the institutions which

legalize the oppression of the weak by the powerful, the enslavement of the poor by the rich. We are to open wide the gates, smooth the road and clear away the encumbrances of the usurer and exploiter so that a man may live by the sweat of his brow without stealing the wage of his neighbor. So that man may love his fellowman without starving his own family. So that we may pray for the success of all our fellows without dreading that one man's gain is another man's loss and that other man may mean ourselves. Do you think it wise to make a living God appear under necessity of starving one that another may be blessed with untold wealth? Did "Our Father in Heaven" provide for the growing of only one-half enough bread to go around? Or are we countenancing a system which enables one man to seize the share of ten so that we may build almshouses, prisons and poor relief stations for the other nine? Listen to my cry! Pardon much use of the personal pronoun. It is a personal story. My hope is that it is common to so many, that it will help answer some of these burning questions. Oh, I am sure my appeal is not going to be in vain. Though I am without wisdom or influence or power, I have love, boundless, all prevailing, devouring love. Love is God. Will you defy my God? Will you withstand the power which brought forth and sustains the universe? Will ye say to Love, "Get thee hence?" Ye cannot resist. Even out of my wilderness ye must hear my cry and respond to my call. Ye could jeer at logic and refuse to reason, but Love ye can neither conquer nor ignore. There is no danger. In an age when a threat to violate the so-called rights of property

arouses more feeling and louder protests than the wanton destruction of thousands of lives, the bold proclamation of a rule of love without profit *must* attract interest if not respectful attention. Is it a wonderful thing that one who professes to follow Jesus of Nazareth should feel love impelled to help and cheer every living fellow soul? Must not a sincere follower of the Great Lover of Children, the originator of the religion of the rights of the lowly, and the weak be wrung at heart to see innocent childhood sold for gain and virtue sacrificed to Mammon? Are you surprised that one who drinks of the cup and eats of the bread in "remembrance of Him" should be in love with all the universe? To me this seems natural, but oh it is so hard to be consistent! The rich and the poor may worship together. They may profess the same love of God. The high and the low lift their voices in praise and thanksgiving to the good loving Father in Heaven and then the rich go out to exploit the poor, to defraud the other rich, the high to oppress the low, the low to displace the higher. Do they associate together, dine and live together? Are they friendly and helpful to each other, seeking each other's company and cultivating a close fellowship in preparation for the future co-existence which they profess to be looking toward in a paradise of Loving bliss? Certainly not. They are in constant antagonism. The poor want to be rich and the rich want to get richer for fear of becoming poorer. Practically every Christian strives with all his might for gain. Yet Christ taught that material wealth was such a bar to entrance into His Kingdom, that only the miraculous intervention of God

could save a rich man. *Did Christ lie* when he said that? Are we all hypocrites? I tell you neither does the Lord's word fail nor are we all hypocrites. We are living in a state of chronic violence. I speak not of those who scoff at all religion. I am not addressing those who openly avow themselves devoted to no cult or creed save that of self. I am appealing to those who would follow the King of Truth and live by the gospel of Love. Who will, but cannot? The Christ said violence must come but woe to him who brings it. I say, woe also to him who maintains, countenances and fails to exert himself to defeat violence. He is equally guilty with him who causes violence. The worst of all violence is that which offends against the laudable aspirations of youth to follow in the steps of Him who said, "Little children love one another!" You have to live in a world where man is arranged against man. You toil for bread amid conditions natural to beasts of prey. You teach your children that. "Love is the greatest thing in the world." When the child begins to reason you show it that money is the indispensable thing. Oh, listen to the cry of one who like many of you has been faced by the questioning, innocent "why" of a son or daughter. The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. The harvest is white for the cutting. Why stand idle? Why do ye linger? Come forth in the power of His might. Come in the name of the King of Truth. Come in the name of Love of Humanity. Come for the sake of the Martyrs of countless ages who cry from the past at the danger of seeing the priceless heritage, the fruit of all their sacrifice and struggle, lost through our selfishness and indif-

ference. Come for the sake of posterity which will surely call us to account! Brethren, we must think and work! We must Thank, Trust and Work in Love, without ceasing to make His paths straight, to take away the barriers, so that generations to come may call us blessed while they walk in the paths of righteousness, of love, of service one to another without fear. We must follow the pointing of the finger which shows the better way. We must make possible the glorious prophecy that the Lion, the strong, shall lie down with the Lamb, the weak, to shelter, protect and raise instead of oppress and devour, to be loved and trusted instead of hated and feared. Ye believe in God? Then ye must believe in this. The Christ did not die for a theory but for a truth, sublime but most practical. If we fail to join in the battle for this truth we make of Him a mockery, and the truth for which He died will yet prevail in spite of us. Listen to one crying in the Wilderness! Make His paths straight. The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, take heed when it comes lest ye be found among the generations of vipers, hypocrites, children of Mammon.

You want to know what all this means? You demand something more definite than passionate exclamations? You shall have it. At the bottom of all this wilderness of contradictions and inconsistencies of our social fabric there is a primal cause. That cause is to be found in the desperate effort to cling to a worn out system of morals and economic ethics. With our advance in the mechanical arts and improvement of the means of production, unparalleled in the history of the world, the system of law governing the

relations of man to man and regulating the award and distribution of the said production have remained practically at a standstill. Instead of keeping pace with the advance on the one hand in the art of production, by adapting the system governing the producer to that of the changed conditions, we are stubbornly refusing to recognize that which may have been of social and political economy under former conditions have become the most damnable lies. Political equality has become a dead letter. In place of chattel slavery a system of exploitation has sprung into existence and shelters itself under a system of laws originally intended to guarantee the rights of the individual. The result is that the condition of the large mass of productive toilers is one in which they suffer all the evils of chattel slavery without any of the mitigating advantages of that institution. It is not merely the assertion of a fanatical devotee of an *ism* to say that the foregoing statement is a fact. One has only to have the very common experience of being compelled to seek or hold the employment necessary to earn daily bread for self and dependents, to learn how bitterly true it is that those who live by the sweat of the brow are the victimized creatures of him who holds the purse strings. This being a fact, what wonder that the worship of Mammon is the only one which enlists serious devotees? Time was when a man willing to work could take his little kit of tools and go out into the world with the assurance that at least a fairly equitable portion of what he produced would be his. Nor did the worker need dread that for the chance to work, to produce, he would have to bargain away not only the greater part of his product but even

his personal freedom. Little by little the cunning of the workman and even his physical strength became less and less a factor of importance in production. The introduction of labor-saving machinery constantly reduces the percentage cost of manual labor and increases that of plant and machinery. Now, while it is an undisputable fact that labor-saving machinery results in improving the material condition of the people at large, it is equally indisputable that under the present system of exploitation it gives the employing, the capitalistic element, enormously increased power. There is no doubt that a large percentage of the people, even the wage-working people, enjoy material conveniences and even luxuries unthought of before the extensive introduction of labor-saving devices. There is also no doubt that the percentage of product retained by the producer has suffered great decrease from the same cause. This condition leads to so-called over production and those periods of industrial depression are commonly known as Panics. A panic is not the result of over production. Panics and hard times are the direct result of a gradual withdrawing of the purchasing power from the producing masses. As an illustration we will suppose that, through the improvement in machinery a man receiving two dollars per day is able to produce ten dollars worth of shoes; he has added to the supply ten dollars worth but is only able to purchase two dollars worth. If millions of people produce more than they can purchase in the same proportion and the residue is absorbed by a small non-producing minority, the time must come at more or less regular intervals when both the product and the purchasing medium will be

concentrated, a few hands will possess all, with the many impoverished. Then comes the so-called slack in the market. Money becomes cheap because industries are at a standstill. This piling up of produce and idleness of capital is not the result of over-production. If there was real over-production and just social distribution there would be no want and starvation. Want and starvation are rampant at times when the product of labor finds no ready market. When corporations declare the greatest dividends and the capitalist talks about prosperity based on enormous profits, then a panic is near at hand. This must be so because the larger the percentage of profits, the less is the percentage of purchasing power left in the hands of the producer, who is also the consumer. Now, at the bottom of this lies the fact that the introduction of machinery has compelled the producer to join with many of his fellows in the use of expensive equipment which in turn is controlled by private individuals who have all the power of life and death without any of the responsibilities to which even the veriest despot of a potentate must yield consideration. All of this enormous advantage depends on a man's having money. It is not wonderful then that men will go any length to obtain that which gives them a chance to exploit, i. e., eat up their fellows instead of being eaten and exploited by them? Yet the very fact that the getting of wealth is only a choice of dilemmas makes it impossible for the possessor of wealth to be happy. No sooner does a man accumulate large wealth and proceed to use it for the purpose of exploiting his fellows, than he in turn becomes the object of universal

attack. To defend himself against the onslaughter and keep possession of his power he must brutalize himself (if he has not already done so in the getting), and his fear and suspicion of his fellows destroys all chance of happiness. We see by all this that we have arrived at a high stage of productive advancement, but that our system of social distribution is entirely wanting in serving the best interests of humanity, rich and poor alike. The poor are compelled to compromise themselves and harden their hearts in order to live and even partially respond to the claims of those dependent on them. The rich likewise must steel themselves against every human impulse and choke off every high aspiration lest they be thrown back among the poor. How little chance is offered by such conditions to practice the love law of Jesus Christ, those who have conscientiously tried to do so, can best make answer. If, therefore, conditions are such as to make a consistent Christian life a practically impossible life, ought not every Christian bestir himself to remedy the evil?

You ask how can this be done? In the first place, you and I, dear brother, must clear our minds of all prejudice. We must take on a spirit of unselfishness. We must look upon things through the eyes of earnest, devoted love for the truth. We must try to see things and not without fear as they are, as He saw them and not as we have become accustomed to see them. We must learn to distinguish between might and right. We must learn to look through the laws of conventionalities of man and see the law of God, of Nature, of Love! They are one and the same. Having done this, what do we see? We

see the law of God made of no effect. We see that the advance of civilization has brought with it also a great forward stride in the methods of Mammon. The very truths upon which all advancement is based have been cunningly construed to blind the masses and make their victimization easier. The "divine" right of rulers, feudal and paternal institutions, chattel slavery and all other crude devices of former ages by which the few sought to live upon and tyrannize the many, have been ripenend and developed into the perfectly effective modern Giant Capitalist. The sacred (?) fetishes of the rights of property, usury, capital, have developed into a perfect system of exploitation such as only modern civilization could produce. Under a system of laws which seeks to establish the right to get by whatever means is available and which makes sacred the right of the getter to keep what he has, regardless of the common weal, Mammon has indeed become King, and to be poor in possessions is to be worthless of consideration. This is, if ye will hear it, *the* short *reign of* that *Father of liars* which the Master said must come. *The cure* for this state of affairs, the defeat of this Mammon of unrighteousness, the freeing of humanity must come through the *abolition of private ownership of the means of production.* The means of production must be returned to the people. The product of labor must be assured to the producer. In other words, if we would make material conditions and social environment such as to permit of the consistent following out of the precepts of the Christ, if we would make the natural law of love a possible practice of daily life, if we would do away with the present rule

of envy, conflict and Mammon, we must bring about the introduction of Socialism. We have too long stood aloof; we have been befooled too long by those who wrongly think their interests at stake, to think that Socialism is a form of anarchism, the fruit of abnormal brains equally wedded to a destruction of religion, law and order. This is far from the truth. If you will take the time and trouble to impartially study the principles of Socialism and the declarations of its authoritative expounders, you will find, as I have, that they have an abhorrence of all violence. You will be surprised to learn (it is surprising that you read the daily papers without learning) that the lawlessness is on the side of Mammon, of private ownership, of arrogant co-operative power. You will find that the principal grievance of the true Socialist is that the law can not, under present conditions, be enforced. You will also find that the enemies of Socialism, the ones who make every effort to misrepresent and malign Socialism, recognize no law save self-interest. You will find that enemies of Socialism are the real anarchists in that they never hesitate to violate the law when *their* interests are at stake, while they put forth every effort to defeat any popular advancement. For the most part you will find that they succeed because money is power and they have money. It is true that many of the leaders in this new thought are of foreign birth and that, owing to the depravel ideals with which the *word* religion and Christianity has ever been associated in their native lands, they avow themselves as abhorrent of any form of institutional religion. In their minds all institutional religion must necessarily stand

only for tyranny of the worst sort. But if you will look at the principles advocated by these men without prejudice you will soon see that there is no antagonism in principle toward what you and I, under more fortunate surroundings, recognize as Christianity. Even if it were true that up to the present this idea had been principally championed by those who are not of the household of faith, is that a reason why we should refuse to see the truth? Did our forefathers refuse political freedom because some of its stoutest and most effective advocates gloried in being called infidels? Certainly not. Even in our time we have seen no good Republican minister of the gospel refuse to vote his ticket because the redoubtable Bob Ingersol voted the same. It is therefore not a question of what other kind of people vote and work for Socialism or what they expect to gain by its introduction. The fact which we have to consider is that Christian ethics and the present social and industrial economy are antagonistic and at variance. As Christians we must seek to change this. Mammon sits enthroned. As Christians we want to enthrone Jesus. If Socialism will do this every true Christian must become a Socialist. Come see for yourselves. As a brother, I say it will. You need not take my word. Read, work, love. You will surely come. You cannot be neutral. We do not need "Christian Socialism," we need Socialism in order to live as Christians should live. Therefore, I know it will come because I believe in Jesus. Now it is: Jesus or Mammon. Jesus is bound to win. When He wins do you want to come with Jesus into power through Socialism or with Mammon

dethroned, in spite of Capitalism? You must decide, my brother. Whatever you decide do it quickly. Time is precious for both sides. Jesus or Mammon?

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